

**The Impact of School Consolidation on Desegregation and Educational Opportunities
in Cleveland, Mississippi**

Expert Witness Report of
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Executive Summary

This report analyzes the proposed desegregation plans put forward by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Cleveland School District on January 23, 2015 in the case of *Cowan & United States v. Bolivar County Board of Education*, No. 2:65-CV-00031-DMB (N.D. Miss). After examining these plans in light of the social science evidence, I conclude that the Department of Justice's proposal to consolidate the two middle and two high schools in Cleveland will result not only in a more substantially greater degree of desegregation than either of the District's two plans, but it will also guarantee enhanced educational opportunities for *all the* students in the district. The evidence is clear that the Department of Justice's plan provides the most effective remedy to desegregate the middle and high schools in the Cleveland School District.

In addition, the Department of Justice's proposal is the most educationally sound plan for a small school district like Cleveland, which currently has fewer than 800 middle school students and 1,000 high school students. In this day and age, with intense academic demands on U.S. secondary school students and an increasingly competitive college admissions process, middle and high schools that are too small can severely limit the long- and short-term academic opportunities of all students, particularly black students enrolled in small all-black schools with limited course offerings. When these small schools are defined in large part by a clear demographic distinction between a historically segregated, all-black schools versus racially mixed, historically white schools, issues of differential status, prestige, and school reputations negatively impact the students enrolled in the all-black schools.

In this report, I provide an extensive review of three distinct, but overlapping bodies of educational and social science research, all of which refute the Cleveland School District's arguments in favor of its plan to maintain two middle and high schools under its "Plan A," and two high schools under its "Plan B." A key component of my argument is a critique of the Cleveland School District's expert's reliance on an inappropriate measure of desegregation—the interracial exposure index—which masks the experiences of the large number and percentage of black students who remain in the all-black schools in Cleveland. Second, I address the desegregative and educational benefits of the Department of Justice's proposed consolidation of the middle and high schools by reviewing the history of consolidation in U.S. public education and social science evidence demonstrating the educational disadvantages of operating small, one-race secondary schools. The continued existence of these two all-black, under-enrolled secondary schools defies many good social, economic and academic reasons to merge them with the historically white schools.

Still, despite district-wide enrollments that would warrant fewer schools, to the District, through its plans and objections to the Department of Justice's plan, demonstrates resistance to secondary school consolidation. Instead, the District offers various proposals to accomplish what similar efforts have failed to do before in this District: encourage white students to choose historically black schools over the historically white ones through plans heavily dependent on student and family choices.

The research evidence and the data from the Cleveland School District make clear that the maintenance of two middle and/or two high schools under the District's two plans would guarantee that East Side High School and D.M. Smith Middle School, the District's all-black high school and middle school, would remain racially isolated black schools. Nothing in the District's proposed plans would adequately overcome the stigma of "all-black" secondary schools as institutions that white students do not want to attend. No "freedom of choice" or "open enrollment" plan will overcome that resistance. The Department of Justice's plan, on the other hand, will eliminate the choice between all-black and historically white, now racially mixed, secondary schools by assigning all students in the District to one middle and one high school, both of which will be redesigned and rebranded to have their own unique identities, distinct from the racialized schools of the past.

Relying on a misleading statistical measure of desegregation in this context, the District argues that it has done basically all it can do to desegregate its schools (Rossell, 2011). Based on my thorough review of the evidence and use of a more appropriate statistical measure of desegregation, discussed below, I have concluded that the Department of Justice's plan will accomplish further desegregation and will be more effective in accomplishing that goal than the two plans proposed by the District.

Summary of My Qualifications and Compensation

Currently, I am a Professor of Sociology and Education in the Department of Educational Policy and Social Analysis at Teachers College, Columbia University. I received my Ph.D. in Sociology and Education from Teachers College, Columbia University and Columbia University's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in 1991. I was an Assistant, Associate and Full Professor at UCLA from 1991-2001.

For the last 30 years, I have studied the relationship between school districts' policy decisions and the distribution of educational opportunities to students of different racial, ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds. My expertise lies in the analysis of is in educational policies such as school desegregation, school choice, charter schools, and tracking (or within-school segregation) and how they shape and constrain opportunities for all students, especially students of color.

My most recent research project, "Metro Migrations, Racial Segregation and School Boundaries," funded by the Ford and Rauch Foundations and examined urban and suburban demographic change and the role that public schools and their boundaries play in who moves where. The final report from the suburban research phase of that project, Divided We Fall: The Story of Separate and Unequal Suburban School Districts 60 years after Brown, was published in Spring 2014; related articles appeared in *The Washington Post* Answer Sheet, *The Atlantic CityLab*, and *Long Island Newsday*.

From 2009-2011, I was the Director of the Building Knowledge for Social Justice Project (2009-2011) at the Ford Foundation. From 1999-2006, I was the principal investigator of a study of adults who attended racially mixed high schools funded by the Spencer, Joyce and Ford Foundations. I am the author and co-author of multiple books, academic articles and book

chapters (see attached c.v.), including Both Sides Now: The Story of School Desegregation's Graduates and most recently, "Longing for Milliken: Why Rodriguez Would Have Been Good but Not Enough." In K. J. Robinson and C. Ogletree (Eds) Rodriguez at 40: Exploring New Paths to Equal Educational Opportunity.

My research has garnered several honors and awards, including my induction into the National Academy of Education (2014) and Fellows of the American Educational Research Association (2013). From 2007-2008, I was a fellow at Stanford's Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. In 2001-02, I was awarded a fellowship from the Carnegie Corporation's Scholars Program, and in 2000 I was the Julius & Rosa Sachs Lecturer at Teachers College-Columbia University. In 2000, I received the American Educational Research Association's Early Career Award for Programmatic Research. In 1999-2000 I was a Russell Sage Visiting Scholar. And in 1995-96 I was a National Academy of Education-Spencer Foundation Post-doctoral fellow and in 1990-91, a Spencer Dissertation Fellow.

My prior experience working on legal cases, includes research assistance to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund for the early phases of the *Sheff v. O'Neill* case in Connecticut, as well as writing and reviewing multiple amicus briefs, most recently working with the LDF on *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, 551 U.S. 701 (2007). In addition, I have published several articles in law review journals.

I am being paid as an expert on this case at the rate of \$100 per hour by the U.S. Justice Department.

Summary of Documents Reviewed

My opinions, conclusions, and recommendations, as discussed in this report, are based on my extensive analysis of social science research on school consolidation, school choice policy as it relates to issues of racial segregation, and school desegregation, including the measurement of segregation levels. My conclusions are also based on my analysis of many court documents from this case and other similar cases, as well as demographic and achievement data on the Cleveland school district and other nearby districts, which were obtained from the Mississippi Department of Education, the National Center for Education Statistics, and the US Census Bureau. A complete list of documents I reviewed in preparing this report is contained in the bibliography and in Appendix A.

Discussion

I conclude that the best way for the Cleveland Board of Education to assure it provides the greatest degree of educational opportunity for all of its students, regardless of race, would be to consolidate the two separate and racially identifiable middle and high schools. In the following sections of this report, I review both the U.S. Department of Justice's and the Cleveland School District's proposed school desegregation plans submitted to the Court on January 23, 2015. I also the analysis presented to this Court as an exhibit to its February 13, 2015 objections to the Department of Justice's proposed plan, which was prepared by the District's expert witness, Christine Rossell.

My opinions regarding the respective plans and of the analysis put forward by the District's expert are grounded in an extensive review of three overlapping bodies of educational and social science research:

1. School desegregation and tracking research;
2. The research on school consolidation and school size; and
3. Research on school choice policies as it relates to racially segregated schools.

On the basis of this social science evidence and my expert opinion, I strongly recommend the consolidation of the District's middle and high schools into a single middle school and single high school, as proposed by the Department of Justice, and conclude that the District's proposed plans will not result in meaningful desegregation of those schools.

U.S. Department of Justice Proposed Desegregation Plan

The U.S. Department of Justice's January 2015 proposed school desegregation plan for the Cleveland School District would consolidate the Cleveland School District's two middle schools and two high schools into one racially balanced middle school on the east side of the railroad tracks and one racially balanced high school on the west side of the tracks. Such a plan, would not only immediately desegregate the District's secondary schools, but it would also better enable the District to prepare all of its secondary school students for a global economy and citizenship in an increasingly diverse democracy.

If the DOJ plan were adopted by the Court, all students in the Cleveland School District, in grades 6-12 would be enrolled in a desegregated secondary school with access to all of the academic programs and teachers the District has to offer. Under the current system, as well as the plans proposed by the District, desegregation is contingent on private choices by students and parents to choose a school. If DOJ's plan is adopted, the burden of desegregation would no longer be placed on students and their families, an approach which has proven unsuccessful in desegregating East Side High School and D.M. Smith Middle School over the past five decades.

Furthermore, the DOJ plan offers a careful and thoughtful implementation schedule that would require the District to listen to its constituents and engage all the stakeholders in the process of rebranding the new schools and their programs. In addition, the DOJ plan addresses issues of segregation and inequality not only at the *school* level, but also at the *program* level, thereby assuring that so-called "second-generation" segregation – that which occurs between classrooms and programs within facially desegregated schools (Oakes, 1988), does not further inhibit Cleveland students' access to educational opportunities based upon the color of their skin.

As I discuss in more detail below, the DOJ's plan, in sharp contrast to the District's Plans A and B, offers the most promising educational and administrative solutions to the continuing racial identifiability of the Cleveland School District's middle and high schools. The DOJ's plan is a forward-looking plan to consolidate the District's middle and high schools, thereby closing racially identifiable and segregated secondary schools, while spreading its educational resources less thinly than under the current system and allowing *all* students access the full range of academic programs offered by the District.

Research Evidence in Support of the DOJ Plan:

My support for the Department of Justice's proposed school consolidation plan is grounded in my extensive knowledge of the school desegregation and tracking literature as well as research on the history of American public education – a history of consolidation of districts and schools to foster better educational outcomes. Both of these bodies of literature provide ample evidence that the DOJ's proposal, if implemented in good faith, will provide greater educational opportunities to more students in Cleveland while improving the overall quality of the public schools in this Mississippi district.

School Desegregation Research in Support of DOJ Plan

I identified and reviewed four areas of the massive body of school desegregation research to ground my support of the DOJ school consolidation plan in evidence on the following topics: 1. Student access/racial balance research; 2. Access to quality educational programs between and within schools; 3. The educational benefits of diversity literature; and 4. Segregated school status and reputations research. I conclude this section with a discussion of the changing demographics of the country and the public schools, and the implications of those changes for school desegregation policy.

Student Access/Racial Balance Research

School desegregation policy designed to remedy the long-lasting harms of de jure segregation has historically been focused on issues of equal access to public schools (see Ryan, 2010). One measure of the effectiveness of such efforts has been the racial balance of public schools as a proxy of student access to the highest-quality programs. As I argue below, different measures of desegregation have been employed to evaluate student access by race within different contexts.

Desegregation Measures: The Problem with the Interracial Exposure Index

The District's expert, Christine Rossell, employs a measure known as the "interracial exposure index," which represents the proportion of white students in the "average" black student's school in a given school district. Rossell's use of this particular measure in her analysis of enrollment data from a majority black school district that continues to operate several all-black schools is highly problematic statistically and should be scrutinized.

First of all, many leading experts in the fields of public policy, sociology, and demography have cautioned against using just one measure in analyses of school segregation, and also highlight that certain measures may be more informative and accurate in certain contexts than in others (Massey and Denton, 1988; Reardon et.al, 2012).

Furthermore, numerous scholars (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1988; Farley, 2005) have sharply criticized the interracial exposure index as being far less accurate in measuring school segregation than the more commonly used dissimilarity index, especially in situations, such as in Cleveland, MS, where many black students attend one-race schools. In Cleveland, the black

middle and high school student population is distinctly divided into two separate groups: 1. the 604 black middle and high school students who attend all-black schools (D.M. Smith Middle School and East Side High School) and 2. the 568 black middle and high school students who attend disproportionately white schools (Margaret Green Junior High School and Cleveland High School) (see United States, 2015; Table 1; p. 6). Thus, when Rossell relies upon a statistical measure that claims to describe the experience of the “typical” or “average” black student’s exposure to white students, *the powerful distinctions and completely opposite experiences of these two groups of black students are completely erased, as if all the black students in the district experienced the “average” white exposure of 21 percent, even though this is not the case.*

In other words, Rossell employed the measure of student segregation that is most likely to incorrectly depict racial balance in a school district such as Cleveland, in which more than 50 percent of all black students in grades 6-12 are enrolled in all-black secondary schools. The analogy would be if you had two students, one of whom had access to state-of-the-art science labs and the other with no access to science labs, and you said the differences did not matter because, on average, 50 percent of these two students had access to state-of-the-art science equipment, which is an improvement from the past. Similarly, Rossell’s measure records the experiences of two black high school students in Cleveland – one who attends East Side High School and one who attends Cleveland High School – as if they were the exact same when it comes to inter-racial exposure, even though their day-to-day interactions with white students and their access to the more reputable high school in the town are very different. In fact, because the District has two all-black elementary schools, many of the black students in Cleveland are enrolled in all-black schools from kindergarten through high school.

For this very reason, in a situation such as Cleveland, the use of the interracial exposure index would not be advised in the measurement of segregation levels because it is a gauge of the average black student’s exposure to white students across *the entire school district rather than looking at exposure rates for the two groups of black students – those with much exposure and those with none.* Since the court has directed the District to adopt a plan specifically to desegregate East Side High School and D.M. Smith Middle School, the more appropriate unit of analysis should be the segregation levels at those schools and not some hypothetical “average” black student across two distinct groups.

In reality, there is no “average” black middle or high school student in Cleveland with regards to interracial exposure. Each black student *either* interacts with a student body that is about 50% white (which is 20% above the district average overall) or a student body that is 0% white (which is 30% lower than the district average overall). Using the inter-racial exposure rate of the “average” black student masks the on-going racial segregation at the heart of this case. In other words, this measure ignores that fact that 50 percent of black students are in racially isolated schools that are not just imbalanced, but completely segregated.

In fact, several experts critique the use of the interracial exposure index in exactly this situation. As Taeuber and Taeuber (1988) note, the problems with *mean* exposure occur when the racial composition of schools or Census tracts is highly skewed between schools or tracts. In such situations, the mean exposure level – or the interracial exposure level – is highly inflated

well above median exposure level. “When this occurs, the mean exposure level is well above the level of exposure actually experienced by most residents” (p. 40).

Furthermore, these scholars note that “This overstatement of interracial exposure and understatement of African American isolation relative to the situation of the majority of individuals occurs to the greatest extent in the areas that are most segregated” (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1988; p. 40).

More specifically, Taeuber and Taeuber (1988) write that the sole use of the interracial exposure measure within a highly segregated society such as the U.S. is even more problematic because neighborhoods (or schools) tend to be predominantly black *or* predominantly white. By creating averages, the inter-racial exposure index conceals the patterns of segregation. For example, they note that researchers would get a black-white interracial exposure index of 50 under two completely different circumstances: 1. When all blacks live in 50 percent white neighborhoods OR when 2. 56 percent of blacks live in 90 percent white neighborhoods and the rest live in all black areas” (p. 21).

The second scenario is very similar to black-white exposure of secondary school students in Cleveland. In other words, Rossell (2001) has systematically disregarded the day-to-day experiences of the 50 percent of the black secondary schools students in Cleveland – the very students the Department of Justice’s school consolidation plan seeks to support in their pursuit of equal educational opportunities.

Dissimilarity Index as a Preferred Measure of Within District Racial Segregation in Cleveland

In addition to the issues raised above regarding the interracial exposure index, Rossell’s analysis of the Cleveland data is missing an important segregation measure that is more appropriate, given the context. In this section, I argue that the best measure of the degree of segregation the Black students are exposed to in Cleveland is the index of dissimilarity, which measures the evenness with which two racial/ethnic groups are distributed across individual schools within a school district (University of Michigan Population Center, 2015). Whereas, for the reasons articulated above, the interracial exposure measure fails to accurately convey the racial composition of individual schools, the dissimilarity index is explicitly designed to do just that. Thus, in the context of Cleveland, MS, in which half of the black students have a great deal of within-school exposure to white students and the other half has none, the dissimilarity index is the far more desirable measure.

Indeed, the current dissimilarity index for the Cleveland School District, particularly when looking at the secondary school populations who would be affected by consolidation proposals suggests that this district could, and should do much more to desegregate its students. I find, for instance, that at the secondary level, Cleveland’s dissimilarity index is .52, meaning that more than half of the students would need to move to create racially balanced schools (i.e., schools with black and white populations that reflect the District-wide percentages for each group). It is important to note that dissimilarity indexes are read in the opposite direction of interracial exposure measures, in that the higher the value, the more segregated students are

between schools within one district. Thus, a dissimilarity index of .52 for Cleveland's secondary school students is very high.

Meanwhile, following consolidation of the two middle schools and two high schools into one middle school and one high school, as per the U.S. Justice Department's proposed plan, the dissimilarity index would drop from 0.52 to 0.0, meaning that for students in grades 6-12 attending the consolidated middle school and consolidated high school, the District would be completely desegregated.¹

Another commonly used measure to consider is the "racial isolation" metric, i.e., the number of black students in Cleveland who are attending racially isolated schools. "Racially isolated schools" are often defined as those having 90% or more of one racial ethnic group (see Orfield and Yun, 1999; Orfield and Lee, 2004; Logan, 2004; Clotfelter, 2004), however, in Cleveland, four out of ten schools overall, and two out of four secondary schools are even more racially isolated (between 98% and 100% black).² Basically, a little more than half of the black students enrolled in the Cleveland Public Schools, or 1,237 students, attend schools in which the black population is virtually 100%. The majority of the other 50% of black students, therefore, attend schools in which the white population is either close to or substantially higher than that of the district overall, which falsely skews the interracial exposure index in a way that makes renders it inapt for this context.

Furthermore, as we noted above, any time researchers attempt to measure segregation and desegregation levels within school districts, they should explore several different measures in tandem to better understand which one best describes what it is like to be a student there. (including school and district demographics, school district size, etc.) and the legal or policy issues at hand (e.g. within or between district segregation) before deciding on which measure should be applied to the issues at hand (Traeuber and Traeuber, 1988; Massey and Denton, 1988; Reardon, et. al, 2012).

Given the Cleveland School District's small size and student population, as well as the legal mandate that every school in the district should be within 15 percentage points of the district's racial composition overall, Rossell's use of the interracial exposure measure is misplaced. Using only one measure of segregation, as Dr. Rossell did in her report, is not reliable or statistically sound (Farley, 2005; Reardon, et. al., 2012; and Taeuber and Taeuber, 1988). Furthermore, the above analysis demonstrates that the dissimilarity index is the more accurate measure of the on-going racial segregation in this context, given the different experiences of different black students across these different schools in Cleveland. .

¹ Although the DOJ and District plans address the middle and high school enrollment exclusively, it is worth noting that the dissimilarity index for all students (grades K-12) in the Cleveland School District is nearly the same as that of the secondary students, or 51.5 percent, meaning that a little more than half of white or black students in the district would have to change schools to achieve racial balance.

² Cypress Park Elementary School, 100% black; Nailor Elementary School, 98.7% black; D.M. Smith Middle School; 99.6 percent black; and East Side High School, 99.7% black

These measures of desegregation and student access are important but insufficient indicators of the many ways in which desegregated public schools can and should help prepare all students for a more global society and economy. My analysis also includes measures of student exposure to quality academic programs and educational opportunities.

Access to Quality Educational Programs Between and Within Schools

In the last 30 years, the research and knowledge base about educational strategies to address inequality across racial groups while enhancing the 21st century learning opportunities of *all* students has grown expeditiously. A deeper, more nuanced understanding of how unequal access to not only school buildings, but *also classrooms and programs within schools*, has evolved (see Carter, 2013; Darling-Hammond, 2004; Oakes, 1985; Oakes 1990). This research clearly indicates that too often within-school and program grouping policies – known as “ability grouping” or “tracking” – disproportionately disadvantage black and Hispanic students in terms of their access to the best programs.

Between School Access to Quality Educational Programs

The data provided by the Cleveland School District reveals significant differences in student access to high-quality, college prep curriculum between East Side and Cleveland High School that negatively affects the all-black student body in East Side High. First of all, it is important to note that the only high school in the District that offers Advanced Placement courses is Cleveland High School, where students have access to teachers who teach A.P. Biology, A.P. English Language, and A.P. U.S. History.

East Side High School, on the other hand, offers no Advanced Placement classes, but does provide the International Baccalaureate Program, or IB, which is analogous to A.P. in terms of challenging high school curriculum that will assist students in getting into competitive colleges (see Burris, 2014). East Side offers IB English, History, Math, Psychology, and Art. The difference between the two schools and program, however, has much to do with student access and race. In fact, only 44 East Side High School students are enrolled in IB courses, according to District documents. The majority of students taking the IB courses offered at East Side High School are white students currently enrolled in Cleveland High School. Given that East Side has no A.P. classes, this places black East Side High students at a profound disadvantage when it comes to access to college preparatory curriculum.

The differences in access to challenging curriculum across these two high schools is reflected in student outcome data, with Cleveland High School students graduating with an average grade point average more than half a point about the average East Side students – 3.10 versus 2.41 – in 2014. Furthermore, the average ACT scores of Cleveland High Schools is much higher than that of East Side students, 20.1 versus 17.6. A consolidation of the two high schools in Cleveland would begin to address some of these differences in academic offerings and student outcomes.

Within-School Access to Quality Educational Programs

Even when all students are in one consolidated school where they, in theory, all have access to the same classes, the research literature on issues of tracking and ability grouping of students *within* a school building suggests that too often, even within a “desegregated” school, students remain separate and unequal along racial, ethnic and socio-economic lines (Burris and Welner, 2005; Oakes, 1985; Oakes, 1990; Lucas, 1999; Rubin, 2006; Tyson, 2011; Tyson, 2013; Wells and Oakes, 1996; Wells and Serna, 1996).

The DOJ plan for middle and high school consolidation addresses these concerns through enrollment guidelines that would assure that the enrollment in within-school would be reflective of the racial make-up of the overall demographics for each school. The DOJ plan also calls for equitable enrollment criteria for all within-school academic programs as well as non-discriminatory disciplinary policies.

These provisions are grounded in clear and solid social science evidence that within-school segregation, unless proactively addressed, has racial patterns and consequences (see especially Carter, 2013; Darling-Hammond, 2004; Oakes, 1990; Oakes, Tyson, 2011). For instance, there is ample evidence that these grouping practices work against even the highest achieving African American and Latino students. In fact, research has shown that even when Black and Latino students have similar test scores and prior achievement as White students, they are more likely to be tracked into classrooms and school programs that are of lower academic levels, are taught by less qualified teachers, and are more likely to enroll other African-American, Latino and low-income students (see Oakes, 1990; Lucas, 1999; Tyson, 2011). Furthermore, these grouping and tracking practices have long-term and often devastating effects on students’ self-esteem, expectations, aspirations, and academic success (Darling-Hammond, 2004; Heubert and Hauser, 1999; Meier, Stewart and England, 1989; Oakes, 1990; Oakes, Gamoran and Page, 1992; Tyson, 2011; Yonesawa, Wells and Serna, 2002).

The most important, albeit most subtle insight to be gleaned from the research evidence is that the DOJ plan will not only minimize racial segregation in Cleveland Public Schools, but it will also assure that every secondary student in the district has access to the best academic programs, facilities and teaching staff available in Cleveland. Consolidating students, buildings, faculty and coveted magnet and gifted programs assures broader, more open and less discriminatory opportunities available to all. Even if students are not in the gifted, IB, STEM or a Creative Arts magnet programs, simply being enrolled in a middle or high school that has these programs housed within in only assures any one student has a greater chance of know about the program and how to gain access.

The goal of minimizing racial isolation in the Cleveland School District’s secondary schools is an honorable one. We know from larger bodies of research literature that the harms of racial and socio-economic segregation are real and long-lasting for students, especially now, in the age of hyper student, teacher and school accountability. For instance, racial isolation of students of color in all-black or all-Hispanic schools is strongly correlated with high levels of poverty and less access to challenging curriculum and highly qualified teachers. Racial

segregation also results in lower expectations in schools serving students of color (see Wells and Frankenberg, 2007 for a review of research on the harms of segregation).

The fact that the DOJ plan addresses the on-going racial isolation of black students in both D.M. Smith Middle School and Eastside High School is not only just and moral, but is strongly supported by large bodies of social science evidence. Any plans that fail to address this isolation are unsatisfactory more than 50 years after litigation to end de jure segregation in Cleveland, MS, began.

The Educational Benefits of Diversity

At the same time that the research demonstrates the importance of removing barriers between schools and classrooms, another body of literature is unveiling the multiple *educational benefits* of racially, ethnically and culturally diverse schools and classrooms. More specifically, building on the social science arguments for both affirmative action in higher education and k-12 school desegregation, a growing body of interdisciplinary scholarship has documented the relationship between more diverse educational settings and positive student learning and educational outcomes (Gurin, Biren, A. & Lopez, 2004).

Indeed, social science research has consistently demonstrated the societal value of racially, ethnically and culturally diverse schools, colleges, and universities. (Gurin, Biren, A. & Lopez, 2004; Walker, 2013; Carter, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 2006). For example, research has identified a positive relationship between student learning and exposure to peers of different backgrounds on university campuses. (Gurin, Biren, A. & Lopez, 2004). Researchers played a critical role in documenting numerous educational outcomes that students derive – both “learning outcomes” related to active thinking and intellectual engagement as well as “democracy outcomes” such as citizen engagement and cultural understanding (see Gurin, et. al., 2004)

The research on the educational benefits of diversity within the K-12 context is more limited, but growing. It includes research focusing on inter-group relations within racially diverse classrooms and how to best prepare all students for the more racially diverse society they will inherit. Building on Allport and Cohen, researchers in the 1990s and 2000s have examined the importance of fostering inter-cultural understanding in young children and how such attention to cultural meanings and understandings can help all students cross cultural boundaries and learn to better understand and work with other students of difference racial and ethnic backgrounds (see Brief of the American Psychological Association, 2006; Slavin, 2001).

In Cleveland, about 350 of the black high school students and 300 of the black middle school students are denied access to secondary schools that provide these benefits. Instead, they attend all black schools that do not reflect the demographics of their community. They will graduate from single-race schools not having been challenged to transcend the racial and cultural boundaries in classrooms and locker rooms that their peers in Cleveland High and Margaret Green Middle School encounter every school day. A growing body of educational research suggests that this lack of broader inter-racial exposure presents a disadvantage to

students who will attend racially diverse colleges and universities and/or work in contexts with much inter-racial exposure and interaction (see Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006 for a review).

Segregated School Status and Reputations Research

And finally, as I noted above, another important area of research is beginning to unveil the more subtle and implicit ways in which schools that are racially distinct – especially in terms of being all-black or all-Hispanic – have worse reputations and lower status with home buyers, real estate agents, and college admission officers than do schools that are more racially reflective of the overall community or county. Implicit biases that lead to negative perceptions of all-black or all-Hispanic schools can overshadow even the most positive educational experiences within schools (see Wells, et. al., 2014). In addition, all students in a consolidated middle and high school benefit from attending a school with a superior reputation in the eyes of college admissions offices and local employers (Braddock and McPartland, 1988; Wells and Crain, 1994; 1997).

This nascent research on differential status/reputation of schools according to their racial makeup, therefore, reveals yet another reason why the District's plans to keep the historically black high school and perhaps the historically black middle school open, despite so many factors that would warrant consolidation of these schools, is problematic.

In the Cleveland, MS, context, the historically all-black schools that have remained all-black despite desegregation orders, maintain their identities as the “black” schools, even as formerly all-white schools are desegregated (see Wells, et. al., 2009). Furthermore, once inter-school feeder patterns are established, students like to matriculate from middle school to high school with their friends and classmates (Peshkin, 1982). Thus, the existence of all-black schools for the different grade levels on the same side of town, helps to solidify a progression of segregated students across grade levels and schools.

We also know from the focus groups conducted in Cleveland, MS, that local community members there are aware of the stigma and negative stereotypes attached to the all-black schools there. Parents spoke of their children's changing attitudes toward the all-black schools once they had enrolled in the historically white west side schools. This adolescent distinction between all-black and historically white schools is not unique to Cleveland, as black graduates of desegregated schools have discussed similar transitions and changing paradigms once they left all-black schools and communities (see Wells, et. al. 2009). The important issue not whether these racialized distinctions exist but rather whether local leaders respond to them in a manner – e.g. through school consolidation – that can minimize them and their negative effect on students in all-black schools that should no longer exist as separate and unequal schools.

Therefore, the most effective and feasible way to address the vestiges of a de jure segregated school system and to eliminate it “root and branch” is to consolidate the students, educators, and best of the two middle and high schools into one, new, forward-looking middle school-high school pairing. That is, two schools, as opposed to four or more schools, that all members of the Cleveland community can call their own and feel proud of.

In this section, I documented the multiple ways in which the Cleveland School District's recently proposed desegregation plans and its objection to full consolidation of the middle and high schools, keeps students in separate and unequal learning environments.

Changing Context and Demographics of Desegregation Policy

This newer social science evidence on the need to prepare students for a more diverse, global society and the symbolic meaning of segregated public schools has coincided with a demographic sea change in this nation that has placed our public schools at the forefront of that change. This past fall (2014), for the first time in our Nation's history, white students constituted less than 50 percent of the total K-12 public school population. Just 35 years ago, students enrolled in U.S. public schools were 79 percent white, non-Hispanic. Today, the overall public school student population is now about 25 percent Hispanic, 16 percent Black and more than 5 percent Asian/Pacific Islander. The general population of the nation is headed in the same direction, with projections that overall, the U.S. will no longer be majority white within the next 10-15 years (see Hochschild, Weaver, & Burch; 2012).

Issues of race and education in the U.S. are no longer black and white, nor are they about the comparison of predominantly white schools versus all others. The number of predominantly white schools in the U.S. is shrinking amid changing demographics. But this does not mean that segregated all-black schools should be more easily accepted, given the research noted above. Public schools can be racially diverse without being predominantly white, and white, non-Hispanic students need to get used to being in the minority at an early age, because that is what they will be as adults in this country (Frey, 2014;Hochschild, Weaver and Burch, 2012).

Furthermore, there is evidence that complementing these demographic shifts is a change in racial attitudes and acceptance of racial diversity as a norm in our communities and public schools. These attitudinal shifts are most apparent in the data on Millennials, or young adults ages 18-34 – the current and future parents of school age children in this country. This cohort is far more accepting (and often supportive) of inter-racial marriage, living in racially diverse neighborhoods and sending their children to diverse public schools (Pew Research Center, 2014). These attitudinal changes are not just occurring in the Northeast and West, but in all regions of the country as the racial identity of the country changes. Furthermore, we know from historical research, that Southern whites, in particular, have shown the most improvement in terms of their racial attitudes, especially when it comes to putting their children in racially diverse public schools, when compared to white in other areas of the country (see Reed, 1986; Sanders, 2002). Thus, as I discuss below, the fears of “white flight” discussed by Rossell (2011) in her expert report are outdated and grossly exaggerated when we consider this new generation of public school parents.

This section of my report reviewed several strands of research related to issues of school desegregation – both between and within public schools – as well as the larger context of these educational policies and what that means for the lives of students. In the next section of this report, I review a related body of historical and educational research on school consolidation to further my argument in support of the U.S. Department of Justice's proposed school desegregation plan for Cleveland, MS.

School Consolidation as School Reform in U.S. Public Education

Perhaps the main reason why the Cleveland School District officials should not resist the DOJ's proposed plan for secondary school consolidation is that the history of American public education is a history of district and school consolidation. In fact, since the beginning of the 20th Century, consolidation has been a major component of school reform and improvement in this country. In an effort to provide better educational opportunities and prepare more students for a changing economy, state legislatures and school board members across the country have consistently opted to consolidate schools and districts (Leo-Nyquist, 2001; Tyack, 1990).

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Supporting the United States' plan to consolidate Cleveland's middle and high schools is that the history of American public education is a history of district and school consolidation. In fact, since the beginning of the 20th Century, consolidation has been a major component of school reform and improvement in this country. In an effort to provide better educational opportunities and prepare more students for a changing economy, state legislatures and school board members across the country have consistently opted to consolidate schools and districts (Leo-Nyquist, 2001; Tyack, 1990).

By the late 1900s, there were 195,000 public school district in the U.S. Today there are less than 16,000. Similarly, in 1929, there were 262,000 public schools. Today there are about 99,000 (Olson, 1999; Tyack, 1990; and NCES, 1993). As the number of schools decreased, the average enrollments increased, from 81 students per school in 1930 to 472 by 1974 (Killeen and Sipple, 2000). Nowhere was the push for consolidation of districts and schools stronger than in rural areas of the country, where some rural counties had more than 100 school districts, many with only one school (Cubberly, 1919; Killeen and Sipple, 2000). Thus, early on, *district* consolidation often led to *school* consolidation.

The main arguments put forth by policy makers for school and district consolidation include greater efficiency in the use of public funds, improved academic quality and curricular innovation, and equal access for students (Boser, 2013; Cubberly 1919; Tyack, 1990). Thus, there is rarely only one reason to consolidate schools and districts, and the concept of school reform and improvement has often been central to even the most cost-conscious arguments, as the efficiency and effectiveness arguments sometimes went hand in hand. In fact, economic arguments for secondary school consolidation are generally couched in terms of "economies of scale" and a cost-benefit analysis that encourages the development of larger high schools to increase efficiency (Buzacott, 1982; Lee, 2000). The economic argument, however, does overlap with academic rationales for school consolidation when researchers demonstrate, for instance, that it is more efficient to offer an advanced course with 20 students than one with three (see Warner, 2013). Larger schools, therefore, can more efficiently offer an expansive and differentiated curriculum at a lower cost (Kenny, 1982; Warner, 2013). On the other hand, another study concludes that small high schools have significantly higher per-pupil expenditures (Jennin gs & Pallas, 2010).

In recent years, the Mississippi State Legislature has passed several school district consolidation bills to combine a dozen or so small districts, including several in Bolivar County where Cleveland is located. While the arguments for these consolidations are usually couched in economic terms, as journalists, policy makers and activists often cite the cost of the public school administrators and their benefits as a potential savings in the district consolidation process (Associated Press, 2012). But other arguments related to increasing academic achievement in

tiny, low-performing districts and alleviating racial isolation are also mentioned (Fleming, 2015; PPS, 2015, and Thigpen, 2015). In fact, Thigpen (2015) cited two main factors in the resistance to consolidation: football and race, noting strong local resistance to losing a football team or to greater racial integration. But clearly other groups, such as Parents for Public Schools, an organization that promotes racial integration, sees the potential benefits of mergers that would result in less racial isolation (PPS, 2015). Clearly, the U.S. Department of Justice is not the only proponent of public school consolidation in Mississippi, and as the history and research cited above reminds us, public school consolidation has been the “norm” in American public education.

School Size and Academic Offerings

Embedded in most consolidation plans are arguments about the changing nature of high school curriculum and the need to merge small secondary schools that could not offer increasingly specialized and advanced high school courses (Conant, 1959). In fact, the years of the most rapid rate of school and school district consolidation appear to be between the end of World War II and the 1970s, as a growing number of business leaders demanded a more highly educated workforce (Killeen and Sipple, 2000; Peshkin, 1982).

The research literature on the academic pros and cons of larger secondary schools implies that size matters a great deal when it comes to providing students with access to the more challenging college-prep curriculum (see Lee and Smith, 1997; Warner, 2013). In fact, in one of the most widely cited studies of high school size and student learning, Lee and Smith (1997) examine data from more than 900 high schools with a median size of 1,200 students.

Lee and Smith (1997) conclude that high schools can be too small to offer adequate academic programs. Indeed, much of the literature on school organization confirms that as average school size increases, the number of course offerings also increases (Haller, Monk, Spotted Bear, Griffith & Moss, 1990; Monk & Haller, 1993). Lee and Smith (1997) argue that “students learn less in high schools with fewer than 600 students as well as in very large ones” (p. 14).

Large schools are not optimal either because high schools with more than 1,200 students can become too differentiated in their curriculum, which leads to greater inequality in terms of student access to the most challenging curriculum, with disadvantaged students often having less access to the best classes. In the end, Lee and Smith’s (1997) findings suggest that no less than 600 and no more than 1,200 students – what they consider to be a “moderate-sized high school” is the ideal high school size to assure optimal access to the most challenging curriculum balanced with the benefits of individual attention and social cohesion associated with smaller high schools (Lee and Smith, 1997; Lee and Burkham, 2003).

Warner (2013) argues that these high-stakes education policies such as graduation requirements and high school exit exams require high schools to ensure their students take the courses needed to successfully complete the exit requirements. According to Warner (2013), today, “American secondary schools experience more institutional pressures than at any other point in our history. These pressures take the form of federal, state, and local mandates, and

testing regimes, which (albeit imperfectly) convey to the public a measure of how well schools are educating their students” (p. 36). Given her findings that high schools with fewer than 600 students enrolled regularly cut their students off from the opportunity to take these advanced math courses, these recent findings on school size and student access to college prep curriculum are even more significant in light of the state and federal mandates. Students who attend high schools with fewer than 600 students appear to be at a huge disadvantage in the current policy context. The largest curricular differences among school types, notes Warner (2013) are not in average course-taking measures, but rather in whether schools offer advanced curricular options such as Calculus or any Advanced Placement (AP) or International Baccalaureate (IB) math courses. “When it comes to having the capacity to offer these types of courses, school size is clearly a limiting factor” (Warner, 2013; p. 153).

In light of this research evidence on school size and optimal curricular offerings, especially for college-bound students, the District’s plans which would cap high school enrollment at 550 students at each high school would establish student enrollments at both schools that are below 600 student minimum identified by the research for optimal student access to the best curriculum. One consolidated high school with close to 1,000 students would be a more optimal size for a 21st century secondary school, poised to offer the demanding curriculum mandated by state and federal accountability policies in each of the core subject areas (see Warner, 2013).

Social and Political Issues Related to School Consolidation and Closures

There could also be non-academic reasons why Cleveland School district officials are resistant to consolidating their small secondary schools. As Peters and Freeman (2007) note in their study of Mississippi, issues of school culture, community identity and tradition often fuel fierce opposition to school or school district consolidation. Despite its lack of popularity with many constituents – particularly the sports fans – at the local level, it is still sometimes the best choice for reasons of academic enhancement, fiscal responsibility and equal educational opportunity (Boser, 2013; Wells et.al., 2009).

Still, because old loyalties to mascots, teams and school sites are often so fiercely entrenched in the minds of adult alumni in a community, outside intervention on the part of the courts or state governments is often required for consolidation to occur (see, Boser, 2013; Wells, et. al., 2014). But more often than not, when such resistance is overcome, school districts and their constituents enjoy the benefits of greater efficiency and less waste of tax dollars, enhanced quality of academic programs and teacher expertise in consolidated schools, and greater racial and socio-economic integration of students to avoid the harms of concentrated poverty (Boser, 2013; Diamond and Write, 1987; Tyack, 1990; Tyack, 2003; Wells, et. al., 2009).

Furthermore, we know from research on similar situations that when school districts do consolidate schools and/or transfer students to different schools for desegregation purposes, new school identities and allegiances form. Not only that, these new, more racially integrated identities congeal in a way that allows the younger generation in a local community to move forward and leave the symbols of de jure segregation behind (see Karanxha, et. al. 2013; McDermott, 1999; Peshkin, 1982 Wells, et. al., 2009).

The DOJ plan, which would engage multiple stake holders from the local community in the planning process for the new, consolidated middle and high schools would help minimize the sense of loss for the students, faculty and alumni from each consolidated school. There is much support for several aspects of the DOJ plan in the transcripts from the focus groups of Cleveland School Boards constituents, including school consolidation and the strong demand for a dual enrollment program with Delta State that should be available to all students.

The Multiple Shortcomings of the Cleveland School District Plans

The Cleveland School District's Plans (both A and B scenarios) constitute too little too late in a federal school desegregation case now in its sixth decade of litigation, where racially isolated one-race schools remain in operation. While the District portrays both Plan A and Plan B as policies that would enhance the school choices for students and parents, like many laissez faire school choice programs, including so-called "open enrollment" plans, they provide greater choice for only some of the students, some of the time in a manner that exacerbates rather than alleviates racial segregation and the unequal educational opportunities that have defined this district for too long.

More specifically, both of the District's proposed plans maintain two separate high schools – one that was historically, and continues to be, an all-Black and racially isolated school – for less than 1,100 high school students total. Plan A would also maintain two separate middle schools, one of which has been, and continues to be, all-Black and racially isolated, to serve approximately 705 middle school students.

Under the District's proposed Plan A, the two high schools would be distinct in that the historically all-Black high school, East Side, would house two special programs, the International Baccalaureate program and the Early College Program with Delta State. Cleveland High School would remain a general education high school. In addition, under this proposed Plan A, both the high schools would maintain their own separate "extracurricular" programs, including athletic teams.

Under the District's Plan B, there would be two high schools and one middle school, with an expanded "STAR" program to serve only the highest achieving students in separate core classes. This plan would also establish Cleveland High School as STEM/arts magnet school, assuring that students in the two elementary magnets would be drawn to it, while East Side would still have the IB and Early College programs.

I conclude that both plans maintain separate and unequal secondary schools and programs and therefore fail to effectively dismantle the dual system of racially segregated public education that the federal court has been ordering in this case for decades.

Freedom-of-Choice Plans do not dismantle racial segregation and can exacerbate it:

The most problematic issue with the District Plan A is that it places the burden of dismantling racial segregation on the students and their parents, which the record in this case demonstrates has failed to desegregate East Side High School and D.M. Smith Middle School.

The District claims that this plan will provide “true freedom of choice” and “open enrollment” for students and parents to choose between two different high schools and two middle schools, as well as several magnet and non-magnet programs within these four schools.

Social science research, beginning with a 1966 United States Commission on Civil Rights report, has consistently found that laissez faire school choice policies, such as freedom-of-choice plans, lead to more and not less racial segregation because they place the burden of integrating onto parents. In other words, when school choice policies leave it up to individual parents’ decisions to dismantle a system of racial segregation, they have rarely, if ever, succeeded (see Mickelson, 2007; Wells and Roda, 2008). In fact, the 1966 Commission on Civil Rights report stated that freedom of choice plans “have tended to perpetuate racially identifiable schools in the Southern and Border States.”

In fact, the report cited several factors that explain why so-called school choice plans that place the burden on parents to make desegregated school choices within the context of formerly de jure segregated districts tend to fail, including black parents’ fear of retaliation and hostility from the white community if they choose formerly all-white schools, improper influence by public officials to keep Black children from attending formerly all-white schools from official functions, special fees or requirements that keep Blacks from gaining access to formerly all-white schools, and improvements in facilities and equipment in the all-Black schools to discourage students from leaving (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1966).

The basic argument in this 1966 report is that affirmative public policies and not unsupported choices of individual parents will lead to school desegregation. The central point is that when it is left to the lower status individuals – e.g. the black parents – within a local context to dismantle the system that has oppressed them for so long, meaningful change will not occur through the process of “choice.” This simple finding has been consistent throughout decades of school desegregation and school choice research literature.

The most comprehensive reviews of research on school choice policies and their effect on patterns of racial segregation have drawn the same conclusion. For instance, in a forthcoming comprehensive review of school choice policies, Wells and Roda (2008; forthcoming), demonstrate how free market, laissez faire school choice policies, such as freedom-of choice and open enrollment plans and their effect on racial/ethnic segregation. Wells and Roda (2008) conclude that absent policies specifically designed to support school-level diversity, individual parental decisions will most likely lead to greater racial and social class segregation. This review also concludes, however, that when policies and local leaders support racially diverse schools and frame such diversity in terms of its academic and social benefit, parents of all racial and ethnic backgrounds are more likely to choose and embrace school-level diversity.

“Open Enrollment” Policies: Contemporary Versions of “Freedom-of-Choice” Plans

While the Cleveland School District plan speaks of “true freedom-of-choice” and “open enrollment” as if they are one in the same, the reality is that while the old, 1950s and ’60s “freedom-of-choice” plans were common in southern school districts trying to avoid mandatory students reassignment to achieve school desegregation, “open enrollment” student assignment

plans became popular in the 1990s as more market-based approaches to educational policies, especially school choice policies, were becoming popular (see Holme and Wells, 2008).

Interestingly enough, although these two forms of school choice policies evolved from different historical moments, they are remarkably similar in their *laissez faire* design, placing all the burden of choosing and gaining access to new schools entirely on the parents themselves. The other similarity between these cross-era policies is that neither one, according to the research to date, has systematically addressed issues of racial and social class segregation and inequality. In fact, despite their political grounding in two different eras of American history, both school choice policies appear to exacerbate it.

Now enacted in nearly all 50 states, open enrollment laws stipulate that students can “vote with their feet” by choosing to transfer from their assigned local public school to either another school in their same district (intra-district choice) or in another district (inter-district choice). Thus, while open enrollment policies are not targeted specifically toward poor students or students of color to assure those who have historically had the fewest choices benefit most, the argument is that the market forces and competition infused into the public system via these free market choice policies will liberate students from the low-performing schools, which will then improve or go out of business (Chubb and Moe, 1990; Henig, 1994).

Unfortunately, the research to date indicates that due to the lack of support systems for the most disadvantaged families – namely outreach to low-income communities or free transportation – open enrollment plans have thus far disproportionately enabled more white and more affluent students to transfer to relatively more advantaged school systems, thereby increasing the degree of inequality between school districts. In fact, in their review of the research on interdistrict open enrollment plans, Holme and Wells (2008) argue that given the lack of support for participation of disadvantaged students, it should come as no surprise that virtually all evaluations of state interdistrict open enrollment choice programs show that low-income students and students of color are the *least* likely to participate in these programs. Indeed, these open enrollment plans consistently lead to greater racial/ethnic stratification and segregation.

Lack of Support for Disadvantaged Students in the District’s Magnet/School Choice Plans

There is nothing in the Cleveland School District’s Plan A to indicate whether or how policies or guidelines would be created to enable the freedom-of-choice/open enrollment plan in Cleveland to be the exception to the rule noted above. Quite simply, school choice policies that place the burden of gaining access to coveted schools and programs on parents and students with little to no support from district officials and pro-active integration policies is not likely to achieve much meaningful racial integration in a community with a history of racial segregation and inequality.

The District’s Plan A says nothing more than that in the 8th grade, students will select their high school of choice on a “first come, first served” basis, without any explanation of how parents and students will get access to information on the two schools or what form the application process will take to establish who is “first come.” This description of the open

enrollment process, as described by the District, leaves more questions than answers regarding how students will ultimately be assigned to the two high schools and what role the district will play in assuring that both high schools' demographics change to more closely reflect the district's overall demographics. Research on magnet school programs demonstrates that without a pro-active, race-conscious effort on the part of school district officials to guarantee equal access, magnet programs can and will exacerbate racial and socio-economic stratification (see Moore and Davenport, 1988; Wells and Crain, 1997).

In an effort to address some of these issues, the District's Plan A states that East Side High School will house the two magnet programs that are the most academically rigorous – the International Baccalaureate Program and the Early College Program. The Plan also states that, unlike in the past, all students enrolled in the IB program must be full-time East Side High School students. And finally, Plan A states that the District will “actively encourage” students who attend the elementary and middle school magnet programs to attend East Side High Schools. This last point sounds good on paper, but there are no specifics about what it will look like, nor is there any acknowledgement on the part of the District that the elementary and middle school magnet programs are a complicated mix of math, science, and health education as well as a selective gifted “STAR” program.

According to District documents, the IB program that would continue to be housed at East Side High School is also offered at the elementary level at Nailor Elementary School and Hayes Cooper Center, and at the middle school level at D.M. Smith Middle School. It is not at all clear how that program is articulated currently on a K-12 basis. It is also unclear whether there are different entry and exit points for students who become more or less interested in this program as they matriculate through middle and high school. Thus, even if the District were to “actively encourage” students in the elementary and middle school magnet programs to continue in these programs in high school, it is not clear how many students that would do so if the IB program were the only magnet program that continued across different grade levels.

This magnet program matriculation issue is even more problematic in the District's Plan B in which the historically white Cleveland High School would house a STEM magnet program, creating a clear feeder pattern from the Hayes Cooper Center to Cleveland High. This would mean the elementary school with the highest percentage of white students would most likely send many of its students to Cleveland High as opposed to the historically all-black, racially isolated East Side High School.

Furthermore, because the District's Plan A calls for maintaining two separate middle schools, one of which (Margaret Green) will house an exclusive “gifted” STAR program, it is not clear whether students who matriculate from the elementary schools – magnet or non-magnet – and access a seat in the coveted STAR program in middle school would then be encouraged to enroll in the IB program in high school.

Meanwhile, the Early College Program that is to be housed at East Side High School under both Plans A and B should in fact be a district-wide program available to ALL high school students in the district who meet the stated criteria. There is no reason why this program, given its obvious popularity with the parents in Cleveland, MS, should be a “magnet” program

analogous with a STEM or Arts program. Early College – either in terms of Dual Enrollment or Dual Credit – should be available to students across different interests and programs. A consolidated, single high school would provide maximum access to this program.

The Argument for “Voluntary” Choice Remedies Only in the Mississippi Delta

Closely intertwined with her discussion of white flight (see next section) is Rossell’s argument that any desegregation plan implemented in Cleveland, MS, that is not completely voluntary or choice-based will fail, resulting in white flight that will eventually leave the district itself all-black. While her argument concerning white flight is described in more detail below, in this section, I will address the argument that the lack of school choice for middle and high school that would result through the consolidation of secondary schools in Cleveland will not minimize the degree of school desegregation that will occur.

First of all, as I noted above freedom of choice plans, voluntary school desegregation has not, and will not, be effective in Cleveland. Secondly, the Department of Justice’s proposed plan is *not* a mandatory reassignment plan, as such plans are usually defined.

It is important to note that under DOJ’s plan, no student would be “forced” to leave an intact school, leaving friends, teachers, and mascots behind to go to a school that it not “theirs” and not considered part of their community. To the contrary, the DOJ plan would create the ultimate “magnetic” school program –two outstanding and improved new schools. A consolidation-for-school-improvement plan does not take students out of their schools to go elsewhere – because the very best of both of these old schools will be brought together in two new and improved secondary schools.

Under the secondary school consolidation plan proposed by the Department of Justice, there will be no “old” school left behind because both existing high schools will be merged into one school, with its own set of merged traditions and school culture. If implemented appropriately and in the spirit of unity and successful merger, the new school provide the very best of both of the old schools, leaving all students to feel that more has been gained than lost by this merger. In contrast, given the high school enrollment caps under the District’s plans, some students may under the District’s plans be required to leave their school behind and enroll at their second-choice school.

Furthermore, as the U.S. Department of Justice’s reply to the Cleveland School District’s response to the proposed consolidation plan points, out other majority black school districts with one high school do exist in Mississippi. In fact, demographic data on these school districts going back to 1990 demonstrates that none of these districts has experienced the massive white flight that Rossell predicts in her report on Cleveland.

The District’s Contradictions about Racial Balance, White Flight and Consolidation

In the District’s description of Plans A and B, both Cleveland High School and Margaret Green Middle Schools, with their 50 percent non-white enrollment, are described as having “perfect racial balance.”ⁱ This is, in fact, a highly problematic declaration in the context of a

formerly de jure segregated school district's plan to dismantle the vestiges of that segregation by addressing the remaining problem of several still all-black and thus racially isolated schools. CHS and MGMS are clearly not "perfectly racially balanced," in the context of a district with two high schools and two middle schools, a 30 percent white student body overall, and court-mandated racial guidelines for each school to be no more than +/- 15 percent of the district student population. Furthermore, in order for CHS and MGMS to maintain this purported "perfect racial balance," the "other" middle and high schools would, by definition, have to remain virtually all black.

In addition, the District's proposed plans in the context of its prior arguments against secondary school consolidation and its reliance on the recommendations of Professor Christine Rossell (2011) are full of contradictions and inconsistencies, particularly as they relate to the "threat" of white flight. While I discuss the shortcomings of Rossell's research and analysis in more detail below, my focus here is more specifically on the District's proposed plan. See for instance, on page 3 of its plan, the District goes to great lengths to explain why placing the IB and Early College programs at East Side will attract many students, including white students, to the all-black East Side High School. The District states that it has received many "indications" from both black and white parents in recent focus groups, that if these programs were only offered at ESHS, their students would attend ESHS. The logical take away here is that white students and their parents want high-quality academic programs regardless of location, and that the District has reason to believe those parents are less concerned about the issue of racial balance or going to high school or middle school in a predominantly black school, let alone one that has historically been identified as "the black high school."

If in fact, the District is correct about the choices white parents and students would make under their proposed plans, then their objections to the consolidation of the middle and high schools for all students are confounding. If they were to put all their public school resources into developing academically challenging programs available to all students in the district within the context of consolidated middle and high schools, clearly these same parents and students would be just as likely – or more so, since the overall white enrollment at a consolidated high school would likely be much higher – to attend a 30 percent white secondary school as they would a formerly all-black secondary school with an even smaller percentage of white students. Furthermore, as I note above, there are many other, more up-to-date factors that affect parents' school choices in the 21st century that would suggest that Professor Rossell's claims do not apply.

Maintaining All-Black Schools versus Enhanced Academic Programs for All Students

The District's Plan A forces all middle school students in the District to choose between the advanced STAR program and high-quality magnet programs, which will, by default, make the magnet programs less desirable and less successful. The IB program in particular, as well as a STEM magnet program should be implemented in a consolidated middle school, and students who are identified as "gifted" or accelerated should be allowed to enroll in them. This will create a more heterogeneous classroom population in the middle and high school magnets that will enhance the "magnetic pull" of these programs and assure their rigor.

Meanwhile, there is clear evidence in the district data that the lowest-achieving students are those enrolled in the all-black, racially isolated schools. The District's Plans do nothing to address that directly.

Despite the focus group data demonstrating strong parent support for a STEM program, Plan A includes no STEM program at the high school level. Furthermore, in Plan B, the Early College program is "segregated" from the STEM program (i.e., students would only be able to enroll in one or the other, but not both, since they are housed at different schools), despite the fact that high school students in the STEM program would no doubt be excellent candidates for the Early College program.

Furthermore, there are many details to be addressed in terms of student matriculation from separate elementary schools, two of which have identified magnet programs that run through 6th grade, and the distinct programs – STEM, Star/gifted and General Ed – that will define student access to classes and resources in the middle school. The extent that access to these programs are based solely on prior achievements and test scores, the Cleveland data and history suggest that these programs will provide a powerful form of within-school segregation (see Oakes, 1985; 1990).

All Cleveland School District students should have access to challenging curriculum and programs in order for the District to have fully dismantled the vestiges of a dual system. Consolidation of the secondary schools and a pooling of resources and opportunities to maximize curricular offerings, student access and racial integration is the single best solution to addressing not only the vestiges of the past wrongdoings, but also to supporting and nurturing the potential futures of all students in Cleveland, regardless of race.

Although the District's Plan B is more ambiguous in terms of the future of D.M. Smith Middle School, the lack of clarity and directives on this issue, coupled with the District's determination to keep East Side High School open to create a feeder pattern for the STAR gifted program, which is disproportionately white, from Margaret Green Middle School to Cleveland High School, means that at least one – and quite possibly two – racially isolated secondary schools are likely to remain part of "school choice" in Cleveland, as it was in hundreds of other southern school districts that failed to desegregate via a freedom of choice plan.

Furthermore, the new middle school configurations proposed, with remedial and gifted programs which enroll students based solely on standardized test scores, will most likely result in a high degree of racial imbalance across programs and facilities (see Rothstein, 2013; Tienken and Zhao, 2013). The proposed plan would also create a white-black school enrollment pattern that mirrors old patterns of geographic school segregation from the pre-Brown era. Additionally, as noted above, once those patterns of both within and between school segregation become a central feature of a school district's enrollment patterns, they are not easily altered (see Oakes, 1990).

Lessons Learned from Prior White Flight

The Cleveland School District and its expert witness Christine Rossell have argued that school desegregation efforts have often failed to create meaningful integration due to white flight from diversifying schools, which led to the recreation of racial isolation across district boundaries (Coleman et.al, 1975; Chemerinsky, 2003; Judson, 1993). Most research on white flight from desegregating schools has focused on large city districts with high concentrations of poor, non-white students. In these cases, some studies show evidence of white flight from urban areas to suburban districts (Coleman et.al, 1975; Rossell and Armor, 1996; Zhang, 2011). However, research on the extent to which white flight occurred due to desegregation is largely inconclusive and much debate remains as to the conditions that lead to white flight (Pettigrew and Green, 1976; Farley et.al, 1980; Crowder, 2000).

There are two main problems with the argument that consolidating secondary schools in Cleveland would lead to white flight from the district. First, much research on ties between school desegregation and white flight is based on data from the mid to late 20th century and does not take into account recent demographic shifts and changing racial attitudes. Second, most research that shows evidence of white flight from desegregating districts is based on large, high poverty urban districts that were viewed by some whites as dangerous and deteriorating, for which there was a nearby mostly white suburb to flee to. The context for Cleveland, Mississippi is quite different.

Changing demographics

An important component when considering issues of racial integration in schools is that the population in the U.S. is changing rapidly. (Clotfelter, 2001; Hochschild et.al., 2012). Due to shifts in birthrates and immigration over the last 50 years, the white, non-Hispanic population, will soon be less than 50 percent of our total population. These demographic changes are even more pronounced for the younger, school-age generation. As mentioned above, white students no longer constituted a majority of K-12 public school students for the first time ever in 2014 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2014). Thus, much of the decrease in the white population in public schools overall can be attributed simply to demographic change rather than white flight (Orfield and Yun, 1999; Clotfelter, 2001). The simple reality is that public schools across the country are becoming much more diverse than they were in the past.

It is also important to note that the 20th century notion of high-poverty, predominantly non-white urban areas surrounded by white suburbs is a thing of the past. Now, young adults, many of whom may be children of white parents who fled to the suburbs, are choosing to move back into diverse, cosmopolitan urban areas (Gallagher, 2013; Ehrenhalt, 2013). At the same time, people of color are moving in larger numbers to both suburban and rural communities (Ehrenhalt, 2013; Gallagher, 2013; Lichter, 2012; Farnsworth, 2011). Thus, city/suburban segregation patterns that were commonplace during the post-desegregation era of white flight are largely being reversed.

Changing Racial Attitudes

Meanwhile, we know from opinion poll and survey data that racial attitudes are changing in this country– at least on the surface – to become more accepting of racial differences and multi-racial families, neighborhoods and schools. This is especially true among younger generations, including many Millennials (ages 18-34) who are the current and future parents of school age children (Pew Research Center, 2014). Furthermore, a small but growing body of research suggests that at least a subset of today’s white parents – those who grew up in a post-Civil Rights era – are seeking more culturally diverse and cosmopolitan schools for their children. Some of these parents are actively choosing schools in which their white, non-Hispanic children are in the minority (Posey-Maddox, L.E., 2014, Reay et.al., 2011; Powell, 2002; Adair, 2005; Stillman, 2012; Lacireno-Paquet & Brantley, 2012). For advocates of school desegregation, this work can be quite an encouraging contrast to the wealth of social science research on white parents’ resistance to enrolling their children in diverse public schools.

Furthermore, a substantial body of research has indicated that support for school desegregation- even shortly after its implementation- was actually quite widespread. To be sure, after *Brown* and the years following the initial implementation of desegregation policies, many school districts were met with significant resistance from local communities who were opposed to integrated schooling (Schofield and Hausmann; Formisano, 1991). However, over time, support for these policies became more widespread, and much of the initial opposition to desegregation faded (Schofield and Hausmann, 2004; Grant, 2009). Overall, research shows that the majority of Americans actually support desegregation (Orfield, 1995; 2001). Desegregation scholar Gary Orfield found that “contrary to conventional wisdom, the poll data show an extremely high level of acceptance and approval of integrated education among both blacks and whites, with a strong majority saying desegregation improves education for blacks, and a growing proportion of the public believing it improves education for whites as well.” (Orfield, 2001, pp.5) Researchers have also found that support for desegregation grew following the initial implementation of these policies (Smith, 1982). In fact, one study found that among white citizens, approval of school desegregation increased by over thirty percentage points in the decades immediately following Brown- from 55% in 1954 to over 88% in 1980 (Smith, 1982).

Cleveland Context and Issues of White Flight

In addition to research that tells us that white flight may be less of a concern, and less prevalent than it once was in certain metropolitan areas, there are several key reasons to believe that it is even less likely to occur in Cleveland, Mississippi, than in other contexts. First, efforts at school integration have historically been more successful in general in small cities, towns and rural areas than in large cities (Farnsworth, 2011). According to one of the most famous studies documenting white flight from desegregating school districts, “the flight from integration appears to be principally a large-city phenomenon” (Coleman et.al., 1975). The lack of evidence of white flight from smaller districts could be due, at least in part, to a shared sense of cohesiveness, loyalty and local pride among residents of relatively small, tight-knit communities. Rates of white flight have also been lower than average in southern school districts than in other areas of the country (Clotfelter, 2001) and are higher among wealthy white families who have the financial means to move if they so wish (Berry, 1979).

Furthermore, a clear and very statistically strong factor in determining the extent to which white flight is likely to occur from a given district that is desegregating is the existence of nearby predominantly white districts (Crowder, 2000; Crowder and South, 2008; Clotfelter, 2001). That is, even if white residents of a given community wish to move to a more predominantly white district, the likelihood of them acting on it is much higher if they could do so without having a much longer commute to work and other places that are part of their everyday life. It is important to note that all other school districts within Bolivar County, Mississippi have *lower* overall proportions of white students than does Cleveland School District (Mississippi Department of Education, 2015). Similarly, according to 2010 Census data, all counties within the state of Mississippi that are adjacent to Bolivar County also have lower proportions of white residents (Social Explorer, 2015). There are simply no predominantly white communities, or even mostly white communities, within close proximity to Cleveland that could serve as a convenient destination for whites who might want to “flee.”

Thus, the argument that white flight is likely to occur in Cleveland as a result of school consolidation is based on a number of faulty assumptions that are in no way supported by well-documented trends. First, this argument assumes that a substantial portion of white families in Cleveland have the financial means to move and afford a potentially higher cost of living in a predominantly white community elsewhere outside of this part of the state in the first place. Even if this were the case, the white flight argument also assumes that white families in Cleveland are, in general, opposed to sending their children to schools with large proportions of black students despite well-documented evidence that whites are more open to diversity than they were in the time period during which most white flight occurred. In fact, every white student in the District attends a school that is between 42.1% and 99.7% black (United States’ Plan at 4.) It also makes the assumption that these white residents who have already been living, working, and sending their children to school in a community that has a large proportion of black residents would be motivated enough by the consolidation of schools to move to another district despite their connection to the local community. On top of this, the argument also assumes that these white families would want to flee so much that they would be willing to move quite a substantial distance from where they live now- away from their work, friends, family, churches, sports teams, community groups, etc- to live in a more homogenous white community. Even if Cleveland families had the strong desire- and the financial means- to flee, they would have to move at least an hour away in order to live in a community with even a slightly higher proportion of white residents (Social Explorer, 2015).

Conclusion:

Consolidation for Meaningful Integration and Improve Academic Achievement for All

Unfortunately, school consolidation for the purposes of racial integration, fiscal efficiency, or academic improvement has often been carried out without adequate sensitivity to issues of school culture, traditions, and identity. These are too often the issues used politically to keep consolidation from happening, there is too little information on how to do school consolidation right. Still, there is evidence in the stories of what went wrong, or in a small number of cases in which it was done successfully, that allows us to identify key issues and variables that should be included in any plan to consolidate secondary schools in rural, southern

districts such as Cleveland (Alsbury and Shaw, 2005; Davis, 1992; Tennessee Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 2008).

Any effort to consolidate the middle and high schools in Cleveland would need to include the following components, many of which are included in the DOJ Plan:

1. The development and support of new and continuing academic programs that reflect the needs and desires of the broadest spectrum of constituents. Building off of the focus group data collected in Cleveland, this would imply strong offerings in science, health, the arts, and open enrollment/dual enrollment college programs should be top priorities to create two new unified magnetic middle and high schools to serve all students in the district.
2. Pooled resources translate into something better for everyone and not just a few. A communications campaign should present the new, consolidated schools as the best of the two merged schools, but even better. A new building, a new set of science labs, a new athletic facility, the strongest athletes from both schools, etc. should serve to inspire, excite and motivate students and parents throughout the community to want to be a part of the new, forwarding looking middle and high schools.
3. The creation of a new school with a new identity that builds on the best of both consolidated schools, in terms of school leadership, teachers, curriculum and course offerings, school traditions, mascots, and athletic programs.
4. Open and fluid access for all students to take advantage of the best academic programs and challenging curriculum. The matriculation of students from elementary school-level programs that have in practice, separated students in terms of race, class and prior achievement, must including new opportunities for additional students to have access to these often coveted and beneficial academic programs.

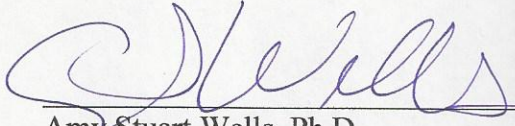
We know from prior research that increased open and deregulated school choice in public education leads to greater and more entrenched segregation and inequality (see Wells and Roda, 2008 for a comprehensive review of this research). Consolidation of small schools and relatively small secondary school student bodies will eliminate the options available for resegregation of students over time.

As I note in the beginning of this report, the history of American education is the history of school and district consolidation. Our highly decentralized and splintered public educational system of the 19th century did not work in the 20th century (Tyack, 1990). The sometimes harsh or less thoughtful processes of consolidation that occurred along the way to the 21st century provide us with the wisdom to move forward to better serve our increasingly diverse student body in a manner that serves the needs of all of these students and our multi-cultural nation as a whole.

At the time I prepared this report, discovery was still ongoing and therefore, additional data and materials that are or may be relevant to my study may be produced after the date of this report. I will review and assess relevant information as it becomes available and will refine and revise my analyses as appropriate.

I may develop graphs, charts, and other visual aids in connection with my presentation of the data and the results of my analyses at hearing or trial.

Pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 26(a)(2)(B), my qualifications, described above, are supplemented by a list of all publications I have authored in the previous 10 years in the Appendix. I have not testified as an expert at trial or by deposition during the previous 4 years.


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U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit (Case: 13-60464)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Title of Document (simplified)</u>
9/16/2013	RECORD on Appeal
4/1/2014	OPINION of the Fifth Circuit

U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Mississippi Delta Division (Docket: 2:65cv31)

<u>Date Filed</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Title of Document (simplified)</u>
5/2/2011	5-6	MOTION for Further Relief by United States of America and Proposed Order MEMORANDUM IN SUPPORT of MOTION for Further Relief and Exhibits (24) [Exhibits included four 2010 press clippings from <u>The Bolivar Commercial</u> ; five annual reports submitted by the Cleveland School District; six pieces of correspondence (2009-2011) between counsel for the District and counsel for the United States; Simmons testimony (1983); Arnold testimony (1985); HEW-OCR Elementary and Secondary Public Schools Survey: Fall 1968; Cleveland School District's Response to Requests for Admission (Nov. 17, 1988); Attendance Zone Map of the Cleveland School District Prior to the 2010-2011 Academic Year; Student Assignment Tables for Cleveland Schools (Academic Years 2007-2008 and 2008-2009); Faculty Assignment Tables for Cleveland Schools (Academic Years 2007-2008, 2008-2009, and 2009-2010); Cleveland School District's FY 2007 Application for the Magnet Schools Assistance Program; MSAP Proposal for H.M. Nailor Magnet Center (Submitted Dec. 11, 2006)]
5/15/2012	44	Cleveland School District's Proposed Plan and Exhibits (3) [IB Math/Science Sheet; Adv Math/Debate/Public Speaking Sheet; Supp Report of Christine Rossell]
8/17/2012	47	2012 ANNUAL COMPLIANCE REPORT and Exhibits (7) [Student Enrollment by School by Race; Majority to Minority; Private Schools; Teachers by Race by Schools; Administration by School and Race; List of Enrichment Programs; List of Physical Improvements]
8/30/2012	48	United States' Objections to Defendant's Proposed Desegregation Plan and Exhibits (2) [Information from District re: IB and Upper Level Course Enrollment at ESHS; Proposed Order]
10/3/2012	51	RESPONSE of the Cleveland School District to the Objections of the Department Of Justice and Exhibit [Second Supplemental Report of Dr. Christine Rossell]
10/26/2012	54	Reply Brief in Support of United States' Objections to Defendant's Proposed Desegregation Plan and Exhibits (3) [McComb decision; Lincoln Parish, LA Consent Order; Lincoln Parish, LA Student Demographics]
12/10/2012	63-65	Defendant Exhibits (3) [Third Supplement Report of Dr. Christine Rossell; Current Enrollment Data; IB AP Current Enrollment]
12/11/2012	66	TRANSCRIPT of Hearing on Proposed Desegregation Plan held on 12/11/2012
1/24/2013	77-78	ORDER and MEMORANDUM OPINION
2/21/2013	80	MOTION to Alter Judgment by United States of America
	81	MEMORANDUM IN SUPPORT of MOTION to Alter Judgment

3/18/2013	84	Response to the United States' Motion to Alter or Amend Judgment and Exhibits (7) [Jerome Norwood Report; 1970 Report to the Court; Slaughter Report; 1980 Report to the Court; Current Enrollment Data; Dr. Rossell Report; IB/AP Enrollment]
3/28/2013	85	REPLY to Response to Motion to Alter Judgment
4/3/2013	86	ORDER for data
4/10/2013	87	Defendant Submission of Pre-Enrollment Data and Exhibits (7) [Pre-Enrollment Data as of Apr. 4, 2013; Email from DOJ requesting additional pre-enrollment data information; Affidavit of Superintendent Thigpen; IB Advertisement; Open Enrollment Advertisement; Open Enrollment Flyer; Sample Open Enrollment Registration Form]
4/30/2013	90	ORDER denying Motion to Alter Judgment
6/14/2013	93	2013 ANNUAL COMPLIANCE REPORT and Exhibits (6): Total Student Enrollment by Race; Total Number of Full Time Teachers by Race; Total Number of Administrative Staff by Race; Enrichment Programs; Construction Projects; IB Magnet Programs]
6/2/2014	97	USCA JUDGMENT that judgment of District Court is REVERSED and REMANDED for further proceedings
6/17/2014	98	Joint MOTION to Approve Scheduling Order and Proposed Scheduling Order
6/18/2014	99	SCHEDULING ORDER
9/2/2014	102	2014 ANNUAL COMPLIANCE REPORT and Exhibits (7) [CSD Enrollment by School by Race; Majority to Minority/Sending and Receiving; Private Schools by Race; Teachers by School by Race; Administration by School by Race; CSD Enrichment Programs; List of Construction, Renovation, Repairs and Modifications of CSD Facilities]

OUT OF COURT DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

DOCUMENT PRODUCTION, Responses to United States Supplemental Discovery Requests for Cleveland School District (cover letter and written responses dated Mar. 9, 2015)

1. Exhibit A – Bond issues
2. Magnet School Application Documents
3. 2014-15 Policy Handbook for Students
4. IB Scholars – Student Roster
5. Bell Academy applicants – 2012-13 through 2014-15
6. Hayes Cooper applicants – 2012-13 through 2014-15
7. Financial Reports
8. ESHS graduating seniors with GPA and ACT, 2012-2014
9. CHS graduating seniors with GPA and ACT, 2012-2014
10. 2014-15 MS & HS Staff List with certifications

DOCUMENT PRODUCTION from the Cleveland School District (cover letter dated 8/12/2014; follow-up production cover letter dated 9/5/2014) in response to United States Request for Information dated 7/21/2014

1. Graduation Rates (CHS and ESHS, SY2009-2010 through SY2012-2013)
2. Student Policy Handbook and High School Curriculum Guide

3. Test Results and Comparison Notebooks SY2009-2010, 2010-2012, 2012-2013
4. Elementary Magnet Programs – Recruitment and Admissions Process, Application
5. Magnet Grant Information – Magnet Grant Applications (2004, 2007, 2010) and Magnet Grant Evaluation Reports (2004, 2007, 2010)
6. MSTAR Teacher Evaluation Rubric and Data, 2013-2014
7. Detail Personnel Report (2012-2013, 2013-2014) and LEA Plan for Highly Qualified Teachers (2009-2014)
8. Teach for America personnel in the Cleveland School District
9. Parental and Community Involvement in the Cleveland School District
10. Follow-up Production: District map and additional 2010-2011 data

TABLE, Student Demographics in Mississippi Delta School Districts (2010-2011 School Year)

- Source: Mississippi Dep’t of Educ. (“MDOE”), Office of Research & Statistics, Miss. Assessment & Accountability Reporting Sys., <http://orsap.mde.k12.ms.us/MAARS/index.jsp> (data retrieved for each district and tabulated on Jan. 2, 2013 and Jan. 3, 2013). 2010-2011 is the most recent school year for which data is available on the MDOE website.

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Amy Stuart Wells' List of Publications 2005-15

BOOKS, BOOK CHAPTERS, AND PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES:

Wells, A.S.; Fox, A.L.; and Miles, A. (forthcoming). "Still Separate; Still Unequal in a Post-Milliken Era: Why *Rodriguez* Would Have Been Good, but Not Enough." In K. J. Robinson and C. Ogletree (Eds) The Enduring Legacy of *Rodriguez*: Creating New Paths to Equal Educational Opportunity. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Wells, A.S. (Winter, 2014) "Seeing Past the "Colorblind" Myth of Education Policy: Why Policymakers Should Address Racial/Ethnic Inequality and Support Culturally Diverse Schools." Peer reviewed Policy Brief for the National Education Policy Center (NEPC). Boulder, CO: NEPC.

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Scott, J and Wells, A.S. (2013) "A More Perfect Union: Reconciling School Choice Policy with Equality of Opportunity Goals." Chapter Nine in Prudence Carter and Kevin Welner's (Eds.) Closing the Opportunity Gap: What America Must Do to Give Every Student an Equal Chance. NY, NY: Oxford University Press. (pp. 123-140).

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Wells, A.S.; Duran, J.: and White, T. (2011). "Southern Graduates of School Desegregation: A Double Consciousness of Resegregation yet Hope." Chapter Six in Erica Frankenberg and Elizabeth DeBray (Eds.). Intergrating Schools in a Changing Society: New Policies and Legal Options for a Multiracial Generation. Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press. (pp. 114-130).

Wells, A.S. (2010). "The Social Context of Charter Schools: The Changing Nature of Poverty and What it Means for American Education." Chapter Nine in Matthew G. Springer, Herbert J. Walberg, Mark Berends, and Dale Ballou (Eds.) Handbook of Research on School Choice. Philadelphia, PA: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. (pp. 155-178).

- Wells, A.S.; Holme, J.J.; Revilla, A.J. & Atanda, A.K. (2009). Both Sides Now: The Story of School Desegregation's Graduates. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
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- Holme, J. J. and Wells, A.S. (2008). "School Choice Beyond District Borders: Lessons for the Reauthorization of NCLB from Interdistrict Desegregation and Open Enrollment Plans" In Richard Kahlenberg (Ed.) Improving on No Child Left Behind. New York, NY: The Century Foundation (pp. 139-216).
- Wells, A.S.; Duran, J. & White, T. (2008). "Refusing to Leave Desegregation Behind: From Graduates of Racially Diverse Schools to the Supreme Court." Teachers College Record. 110 (12) (pp. 2532-2570).
- Wells, A.S. and Frankenberg, E. (2007) "The Public Schools and the Challenge of the Supreme Court's Integration Decision." Phi Delta Kappan 89 (3) (pp.178-188).
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- Wells, A.S. and Holme, J.J. (2006). "No Accountability for Diversity: Standardized Tests and the Demise of Racially Mixed Schools." in the Resegregation of the American South. Jack Boger and Gary Orfield (Eds.). Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press. (pp. 187-211).
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- Wells, A.S. and Crain, R. L. (2005) "Where School Desegregation and School Choice Policies Collide: Voluntary Transfer Plans and Controlled Choice." In Janelle T. Scott (Ed.) School Choice and Diversity: What the Evidence Says. Teachers College Press: NY, NY. (pp. 59-76).
- Wells, A.S. and Home, J.J. (2005) "Marketization in Education: Looking Back to Move Forward with a Stronger Critique." In Nina Bascia, Alister Cumming, Amanda Datnow, Kenneth Leithwood, and David Livingston (Eds.) International Handbook of Educational Policy. New York, NY: Springer. (pp. 19-52).

- Petrovitch, J. and Wells, A.S. (Eds.) (2005) Bringing Equity Back: Research for a New Era in American Educational Policy. Teachers College Press.
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- Holme, J.J.; Wells, A.S. & Revilla, A. T. (2005). "Learning Through Experience: What Graduates Gained by Attending Desegregated High Schools." Equity & Excellence in Education. 38, (1), pp. 14-24.
- Yonezawa, S. and Wells, A.S. (2005). "Reform as Redefining the Spaces of Schools: An Examination of Detracking by Choice." In Lois Weis and Michelle Fine (Eds.) Beyond Silenced Voices: Class, Race, and Gender in United States Schools (Revised Edition). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. pp. 47-63.
- RESEARCH REPORTS, ADDITIONAL PUBLICATIONS and REPRINTS
- Wells, A.S.; Ready, D.; Fox, L.; Warner, M.; Roda, A.; Spence, T.; Williams, E. and Wright, A. (May, 2014). Divided We Fall: The Story of Separate and Unequal Schools 60 Years After Brown v. Board of Education. Center for Understanding Race and Education (CURE). <http://bit.ly/PXy3HQ>
- Wells, A.S. (September/October, 2012). "What are We Holding our Public Schools Accountable For? The Gap Between What is Measured and What is needed to Prepare Children for an Increasingly Diverse Society." Poverty & Race. Newsletter of the Poverty & Race Research Action Council. <http://www.prrac.org>.
http://www.prrac.org/full_text.php?text_id=1410&item_id=13888&newsletter_id=125&header=September/October%202012%20Newsletter
- Wells, A.S.; Balldridge, B.; Duran, J.; Grzesikowski, C.; Lofton, R.; Roda, A.; Warner, M. & White, T. (2009). Boundary Crossing for Diversity, Equity and Achievement. Report on eight inter-district school desegregation plans. See full report on the Teachers College website: <http://www.tc.columbia.edu/news/article.htm?id=7232>
- Wells, A.S.; Balldridge, B.; Duran, J.; Lofton, R.; Roda, A.; Warner, M.; White, T. & Grzesikowski, C. (2009) Why Boundaries Matter: A Study of Five Separate and Unequal Long Island School Districts. The Teachers College, Columbia University report on five Long Island school districts for the Rauch Foundation's Long Island Index Report.
- Wells, A.S.; Braddock, J.H. II; Darling-Hammond, L.; Heubert, J.P.; Oakes, J.; Rebell, M.A.; & The Campaign for Educational Equity (October 10, 2006). Amicus Curiae Brief in Support of

the Respondents in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1 et. al.* and *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education et. al.*, submitted to the U.S. Supreme Court of the United States.

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<http://www.newsday.com/opinion/oped/suburban-promise-or-demise-opinion-1.8167670>

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Wells, A.S. (Wednesday, March 13, 2013). "Why NYC Should Make Diversity a School Choice." Schoolbook.Org. National Public Radio.
<http://www.wnyc.org/blogs/schoolbook/2013/mar/13/more-diverse-schools-needed-to-attract-affluent-gentrifiers/>

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Wells, A.S. (September 14, 2011) "The Admissions Game: Remembering to Inhale." The New York Times Schoolbook Blog <http://www.nytimes.com/schoolbook/2011/09/14/the-admissions-game-remembering-to-inhale/?scp=4&sq=wells&st=cse>

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http://www.huffingtonpost.com/amy-stuart-wells/no-superman-in-suburbia_b_826876.html

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Wells, A.S. (Sunday, January 22, 2006). "No Charter School Left Behind." The New York Times.
City Section.

AMY STUART WELLS

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EDUCATION

Columbia University, Teachers College and Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

Ph.D., Sociology and Education, 1991

Boston University, College of Communications, M.S., Journalism, 1986

Southern Methodist University, Dedman College, B.A., English, 1984

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2001- Teachers College, Columbia University

Department of Education Policy and Social Analysis

Professor, Sociology and Education

-- *Director, Provost Investment Fund to Coordinate College Curriculum on Race and Ethnicity in Education (2013-2015)*

-- *Director, Center for Understanding Race and Education (CURE)*

Leading a research center designed to marry educational research on racial/ethnic segregation between and within schools with outreach efforts aimed at educators, school district officials, advocates and parents in urban or suburban communities experiencing demographic changes (2008-present).

-- *Principal Investigator, Metro Migrations, Racial Segregation and School Boundaries: Educational Opportunities in Changing Suburban and Urban America*

Leading a five-year study affiliated with CURE on the role of public schools in changing racial and ethnic demographics across urban and suburban spaces funded by the Rauch Foundation and the Ford Foundation. Final report to be released in Spring 2014 in conjunction with TC's *Brown v. Board of Education* Anniversary Conference (2008-present).

-- *Organizer of "The Suburban Promise of Brown" Conference.* Coordinated Teachers College's 60th Anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education* Conference by bringing together practitioners, advocates and policy makers to engage in a dialogue about the changing demographics of the suburbs and the implications of those changes for housing and education policy.

-- *Director of Research, Teachers College Campaign for Educational Equity* Coordinated a college-wide Research Initiative that included extensive Reviews of Research by twelve TC faculty focused on what we know about policies and practices designed to create more equity in public education (2006-2008).

-- *Principal Investigator, From Louisville and Seattle to the Supreme Court*

Directed a study of graduates of desegregated high schools for amicus curiae brief funded by the Ford Foundation (2006).

-- *Coordinator, Teachers College Policy Studies*

Brought together TC faculty across programs and departments whose research and teaching is policy focused; generated a forum, documents and a website to help students navigate the policy curriculum and to assist faculty in coordinating policy activities (2004-2006).

-- *Editor, Teachers College Record*

Served as a faculty editor and was responsible for the policy, race and education, and equity oriented submissions (2001-2005).

-- *Principal Investigator, The Understanding Race and Education Study*

Directed a five-year study of six racially diverse schools and their class of 1980 graduates funded by the Joyce Foundation and the Spencer Foundation (1999-2004).

-- *Additional TC Service Activities* include Chair, Teachers College *Brown v. Board of Education* 60th Anniversary Conference (2013-14); Member, Early Childhood Education Search Committee; Member and Chair, Faculty Executive Committee's Subcommittee on Race, Culture and Diversity (2010-2013); Member, Search Committee for the Director of the Institute on Urban and Minority Education (IUME) (2008-09); Coordinator, Sociology and Education Program (2006-07; 2008-09); Member, Faculty Executive Committee (2004-06), and Co-Chair of the Teachers College *Brown v. Board of Education* 50th Anniversary Committee (2004).

-- *Courses* include Sociology of Urban Education

Education and Public Policy

The Sociology of Knowledge

Race, Education Policy and American Politics

Case Study Methodology: School- and District-Level Analysis

Dissertation Seminar

2009 - 2011 The Ford Foundation, New York

Director, Building Knowledge for Social Justice (BKSJ) Project

Oversaw a two-year project to design a social media campaign and communication strategies to shift public understanding of the causes of inequality away from simplistic, individualistic explanations. Coordinated and led meetings of more than 60 influential scholars, journalists and leaders in higher education to generate a new set of ideas about inequality and foster several dissemination projects designed to influence the larger public's vision of a 21st Century society grounded in values of collective responsibility, interdependence, and greater racial/ethnic and socio-economic equality.

1991-2001 University of California, Los Angeles

Graduate School of Education & Information Studies

Department of Education

Professor, Educational Policy (1999-2001)

Associate Professor, Educational Policy (1995-1999)

Assistant Professor, Educational Policy (1991-1995)

-- *Principal Investigator, The UCLA Charter School Study*

Directed a 2.5-year project to study charter school reform in 10 California school districts funded by the Ford Foundation, Annie E. Casey Foundation, and the Spencer Foundation (1996-1998).

-- *Principal Investigator, An Evaluation of the NEA's Charter Schools Initiative*

Directed an in-depth evaluation of five charter schools founded by the National Education Association and their surrounding school districts (1996-2000).

-- *Co-Principal Investigator, with Professor Jeannie Oakes, Beyond the Technicalities of School Reform: A Study of Racially Mixed Detracking Schools.*

Co-directed a three-year research project of 10 racially diverse secondary schools undergoing detracking reform funded by the Lilly Endowment (1992-1995).

-- *UCLA Service Activities* included Chair, Committee on Degrees, Admissions and Standards (1996-98); Division Head, Urban Schooling Division (1994-1995); co-founder and co-director of the UCLA-

Washington High School Partnership Program (1992-1998); principal organizer of "The Choice on School Choice," the UCLA Public Forum on Proposition 174 (1992).

-- *Courses* included Sociology of Education (undergraduate and graduate)

Race and Education

Educational Policy

Qualitative Case Study Methodology

Research Practicum for Doctoral Students.

1985- Free-Lance Education Writer and Reporter

Write and publish articles on education and social policy for the popular press, including The New York Times, Education Week, The Washington Post, The Boston Globe, The Nation, Street News, and Boston Magazine. Covered breaking news stories for the Associated Press (1985) and edited and wrote The Fiske Guide to Colleges with The New York Times education editor and columnist, Edward B. Fiske (1986-91). Wrote articles for The New York Times education page, 1988-1991

1989-91 Teachers College, Columbia University

Research Associate, The St. Louis School Desegregation Project

Responsible for designing and conducting an extensive evaluation of the nation's largest city-suburban student transfer programs with Robert L. Crain. Funded by the Spencer Foundation, the study included interviews with more than 250 politicians, lawyers, educators, parents, and students as well as historical and legal analysis.

1987-90 Teachers College, Columbia University

Research/Writer, The ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education

Reviewed literature on urban and minority populations, developed topics of interest, and wrote articles and digests synthesizing research findings.

HONORS AND AWARDS

Member, the National Academy of Education, Inducted 2014

Fellow, the American Educational Research Association, Inducted 2013

Dean's Grant for Tenured Faculty Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, 2013-2014

Distinguished Alumni Award, Parkway School District, 2011

Fellow, Center for the Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences, 2007-08

Scholar, Carnegie Corporation's Scholars Program, 2001-02

Julius & Rosa Sachs Lecturer, Teachers College, Columbia University, Fall 2000

Early Career Award for Programmatic Research, American Educational Research Association, 2000

Visiting Scholar, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1999-2000

Visiting Fellow, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Spring 1999

The A.E. Havens Center

Spencer Post-Doctoral Fellowship, 1995-97

National Academy of Education

Summer Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1995

Institute on The Linkage Between Educational Research, Policy and Practice

UCLA Career Development Award, Summer, 1994

Pre-Tenure Awards to Support Junior Faculty Research

UCLA Professor of the Quarter, Winter 1993

Award for Outstanding Teaching, Research, and Community Service

UCLA Mortar Board Association

Spencer Dissertation Fellowship, 1990-91

BOOKS, BOOK CHAPTERS, AND PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES:

Wells, A.S.; Fox, A.L.; and Miles, A. (forthcoming). "Longing for Milliken: Why Rodriguez Would Have Been Good but Not Enough." In K. J. Robinson and C. Ogletree (Eds) Rodriguez at 40: Exploring New Paths to Equal Educational Opportunity. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Wells, A. S. and Roda, A. (under review) " 'Colorblindness' and Free-Market School Choice Policies: Political Rhetoric, Educational Research, and Racial Segregation" Paper formerly presented at annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) 2008, NY, NY.

Wells, A.S. (Winter, 2014) "Seeing Past the "Colorblind" Myth of Education Policy: Why Policymakers Should Address Racial/Ethnic Inequality and Support Culturally Diverse Schools." Peer reviewed Policy Brief for the National Education Policy Center (NEPC). Bolder, CO: NEPC.

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- Wells, A.S. (2008) "Our Children's Burden: A History of Federal Education Policies that Ask (now Require) Our Public Schools to Solve Societal Inequality." In Michael A. Rebell and Jessica Wolff (Eds.) NCLB at the Crossroads: Re-examining America's Commitment to Closing our Nation's Achievement Gaps. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
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- Book Review of Hanus, J.J. and Cookson, P.W., Jr. Choosing Schools: Vouchers and American Education and Quade, Q. Financing Education: The Struggles Between Governmental Monopoly and Parental Control. (Summer 1998). Journal of Policy Analysis & Management. 17 (2) 21-25.
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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

"The Sociology of School Choice: A Study of Black Students' Participation in a Metropolitan Voluntary Transfer Plan." (1991) Doctoral Dissertation. In-depth interviews with 72 black students and parents of different socio-economic backgrounds.

MASTER'S THESIS

"A Study of Education Reporting in American Newspapers." (1986) Research included a nation-wide survey of education journalists at major daily newspapers, a content analysis of education coverage from 1945 to 1985 in three leading newspapers, and in-depth interviews with three prominent education writers.

MAJOR PRESENTATIONS AND PANELS

"Lessons from Three Decades of City-Suburban School Desegregation in St. Louis: The Potential of a Metro Area to Address Inequality Today." Keynote address at the Midwest Equity Assistance Center's Educational Equity Conference. February 19, 2015. St. Louis, MO.

"Changing Nation, Changing Suburbs (and Cities), Changing Schools: Metropolitan-Wide Solutions to Educational Inequalities for the 21st Century." Presentation at the St. Louis Black Leadership Roundtable 25th Anniversary Celebration: Commemorating Our Past – Creating Our Future. November 2014, St. Louis, MO.

"Examining Macro and Micro Contexts of Inequality in Education: The Centrality of Sociological Mixed-Methods Research." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, New York, NY. August, 2013. (Co-authored by Wells, Warner, Fox, and Earle).

"Studying the Multiple Dimensions of Racial Segregation and Inequality: When Mixed-Methods Research Makes the Most Sense." Paper presented by Hester Earle and Ashley Lauren Fox at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. San Francisco, CA. April, 2013 (co-authored by Wells, Earle, Fox, Warned and Roda).

"Lessons from Jeannie Oakes: Social Justice Scholar, Educator, Activist and Organizer." Presidential Session I co-organized with Kevin Welner at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. San Francisco, CA. April, 2013.

"Longing for Milliken: Why Rodriguez Would Have Been Good but Not Enough." Presentation at the "Rodriguez at 40: Exploring New Paths to Equal Educational Opportunity" Conference, co-sponsored by

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"The Social Construction of Location, Location, Location: Where Place, Race and Reputation Collide in Housing and School Choices." Presentation at mini-conference on "Choosing Homes, Choosing Schools" at the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY. Paper co-authored by Amy Stuart Wells, Hester Earle, Miya Warner, Ashley Lauren Fox and Allison Roda. February 14, 2013.

"Studying the Housing/School Segregation Nexus: Mixed-Methods and Multiple Epistemologies" Paper presented at the Eastern Sociological Society Annual Meeting; "Choosing Homes; Choosing Schools" ESS Mini Conference. (presented by Fox, L.; Hill, K. and Ready, D.) New York, NY. February 25, 2012.

"Why We Move Where We Do: A Survey of Home Buyers and School District Boundary Lines." Paper presented at the Eastern Sociological Society Annual Meeting; "Choosing Homes; Choosing Schools" ESS Mini Conference. (co-authored and presented by Earle, H.) New York, NY. February 25, 2012.

"Making Sense of Separate School Districts: The Meaning of 'School Quality' and the Color Line in Suburban Housing Choice." Paper presented at the Eastern Sociological Society Annual Meeting; "Choosing Homes; Choosing Schools" ESS Mini Conference. (co-authored with Roda, A.; Hill, K.; Fox, L. & Warner, M.) New York, NY. February 25, 2012.

"An Overview of Metro Migrations, Racial Segregation and School Boundaries: The Role of Public Education in Suburban Residential Patterns." Paper presented at the Eastern Sociological Society Annual Meeting; "Choosing Homes; Choosing Schools" ESS Mini Conference. (co-authored and co-presented with Ready, D.) New York, NY. February, 24, 2012.

"Evolution of the BKSJ Project into the 'From Here 2 Fair' Dissemination Project." Presentation at A Special Event at the Ford Foundation: "From Here to Fair: Knowledge for a Better America." New York, NY. (co-presented with Jeannie Oakes) November 18, 2011.

"Overview of the Building Knowledge for Social Justice/From Here 2 Fair Project." Presentation at A Special Event at the Ford Foundation: "From Here to Fair: Knowledge for a Better America." New York, NY. (co-presented with Jeannie Oakes) November 18, 2011.

"Reoccurring Racial and Social Class Segregation in Suburban Public Schools: The Relationship between Housing Markets and District Boundary Lines." Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. New Orleans. (co-authored and co-Presented with Roda, A.; Warner, M. and Hill, K.) April, 2011.

Presentation on Metro-Migration Study for Education Secretary Arnold Duncan's Learning Round Table Session on Re-Segregation. U.S. Department of Education. Washington D.C. March 18, 2011

"Why We Move: Metro Migrations, Racial Segregation and School District Boundaries An Overview of a Mixed-Methods Study and Emerging Themes from Long Island Data." CUNY Graduate Center; Program on Urban Education, NY, NY. Co-authored and co-presented with Ready, D.; Fox, L.; Hill, K.; Luesse, J.; Quinn, J.; Roda, A.; Severe, C.; and Warner, M. March 21, 2011.

- "Understanding Educational Inequality on Long Island within a Broader Context: Causes and Possible Solutions." Keynote address at the Erase Racism Forum, SUNY Stony Brook, NY. February 14, 2011
- "School District Fragmentation and Inequality: How Boundaries Divide and Differentiate" Paper presented at the Eastern Sociological Society annual meeting. (co-authored and co-presented with Warner, M.; Luesse, J.; Fox, L. & Hill, K.) Philadelphia, PA. February, 2011.
- "Why Boundaries Matter: Early Findings from Separate and Unequal Suburban School Districts." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association annual meeting. (co-authored and co-presented with Hill, K). Atlanta, GA. August, 2010.
- "School Boundaries as Symbolic & Social Borders: The Tangible and Intangible Manifestations of Racially Separate Districts, Schools and Classrooms." Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. (co-authored and co-presented with Roda, A. and Grzesikowski, C.) Denver, CO. May, 2010.
- "Metro Migration, Suburban Fragmentation, and Racial/Ethnic Segregation: Nassau County as Both Typical and Extreme." Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. (co-authored and co-presented with Ready, D.; Warner, M. & Grzesikowski) C. Denver, CO. May, 2010.
- "School District Boundaries, Segregation and Educational Inequality: Separate and Unequal Classrooms in Fragmented and Increasingly Complex Suburbia." Paper presented for a Presidential Session at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. Denver, CO. May, 2010.
- "Why Boundaries Matter: Separate and Unequal Educational Opportunities on Long Island." Presentation at the Long Island Energiea Meeting (co-presented with Miya Warner). May 19, 2010.
- "Separate and Unequal Educational Opportunities in Nassau County: Where Metro Migrations, Racial Segregation and School District Boundaries Collide." Keynote address at a Long Island Stakeholder Forum, Adelphi University, May 14, 2010.
- "Metro Migrations, Racial Segregation, and School Boundary Lines: How Separate and Unequal Educational Opportunities Defy Efforts to 'Lift All Boats' via the Standards and Accountability Movement." The Doyle and Alba Bortner Distinguished Speaker Series City College, City University of New York School of Education. April 14, 2010.
- "Sorting Out the School Choice History and Research." Presentation at the Education Meeting of the National Council of State Legislators. Teachers College, Columbia. University: New York, NY. March, 2010.
- "Why Boundaries Matter: A Study of Five Separate and Unequal Long Island School Districts." Talk for deans and administrators of school of Education across Long Island. Talk based on the Why Boundaries Matter research report. C.W. Post University, Long Island. December, 2009.
- "Boundary Crossing for Diversity, Equity and Achievement." Presented at Reaffirming the Role of School Integration in K-12 Public Education Policy: A Conversation Among Policymakers, Advocates and Educators, at Howard Law School. Washington D.C. November, 2009.

- "Metro Migrations, Racial Segregation & School Boundaries: Education Policy in Changing Suburban and Urban America." Dan E. Sweat Distinguished Lecture, Georgia State University: Atlanta, GA. September 24th, 2009.
- "Interdistrict School Desegregation Plans and The Struggle for Equal Educational Opportunity: An Overview of Eight Plans." Report presented at a National Summit, Plans Passing the Torch: The Past, Present, and Future of Interdistrict School Desegregation. Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race & Justice. Harvard University Law School, Cambridge, MA. (co-authored and co-presented with Baldrige, B.J.; Duran, J.; Grzesikowski, C.; Lofton, R.; Roda, A.; Warner, M. and White, T.) January 16-18, 2009.
- "Understanding Whites' Double Consciousness: The Critical Role of Qualitative Research in the Study of Race and Education in the U.S." the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. San Diego , CA. April, 2009.
- "Suburban School Segregation and Inequality on Long Island: Five School Districts; Five Opportunity Structures." Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. (co-authored and co-presented with Duran, J.; White, T.; Lofton, R.; Roda, A.; Baldrige, B.; Warner, M. & Grzesikowski, C.) San Diego , CA. April, 2009.
- "The Double Consciousness of Adult Graduates of Southern Schools: The Meaning of Lives Lived from Massive Resistance to Desegregation and Back Again" Paper accepted for presentation at the "Looking to the Future" Conference. Chapel Hill, North Carolina. (co-authored and co-presented with Duran, J.; & White, T) April 2009.
- "The Parallel Rhetoric of Welfare Reform and NCLB: Addressing Inequality by Blaming its Victims" Invited paper presentation at the Eastern Sociological Society Meeting. Baltimore, MD. March, 2009.
- "School Choice Beyond District Borders: Lessons for the Reauthorization of NCLB from Interdistrict Desegregation and Open Enrollment Plans." The National Press Club, Washington DC. October 15, 2008.
- "Schools and Opportunity: Understanding White Resistance to Structuring Access to Knowledge." Kerner Commission Forum, Stanford Center for Opportunity Policy in Education (SCOPE), Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA. October 3, 2008.
- "White Flight All Over Again: Public Education in Changing Suburban and Urban America." Lecture at the Institute on Education, University of London. London, UK. June 24, 2008.
- "Public Education in Changing Suburban and Urban America: 'White Flight' All Over Again?" Presentation at the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Palo Alto, California. June 10, 2008.
- "Colorblindness and School Choice: When the Political Rhetoric and the Research Evidence Collide after the Supreme Court's Decision in Parents Involved." Presentation at the UC Berkeley Sociology Colloquium Series. Berkeley, CA: April 3, 2008.
- "Still Separate, Still Unequal, But Not Always So "Suburban:" The Changing Nature of Suburban School Districts in the New York Metro Area" (co-authored with Jacquelyn Duran and Terrenda White). Paper

presented at a Presidential Session at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting. New York, NY: March 2008.

"Colorblindness and School Choice: The Central Paradox of the Supreme Court's Ruling in the *Parents Involved* Cases." (co-authored with Allison Roda). Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting. New York, NY: March 2008.

"Still Separate, Still Unequal: The Changing Nature of Racial and Socio-Economic Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas and the Role of Public Education." Seminar presentation at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. Palo Alto, CA: March 7, 2008.

"Colorblindness and the Social Science Research: Why Separate is not Equal." Presentation at the Ohio State Law Review Symposium, "The School Desegregation Cases and the Uncertain Future of Racial Equality." Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio: February 21 and 22, 2008.

"Post-*Parents Involved* Civil Rights Efforts in Education: A Suggested Focus on "Place" and the Geography of Opportunity." Presentation at the Charles Hamilton Houston Institute on Race and Justice convening of civil rights litigators, legal scholars and national civil rights organizations on new and ongoing social science research related to children and opportunity. San Francisco, CA. January 17th, 2008.

"School Choice Beyond District Borders: Lessons Learned from Inter-district Desegregation and Open Enrollment Plans" (Co-authored with Jennifer Jellison Holme). Paper presented at the University of Connecticut's Center for Education Policy Analysis Conference, "Public School Choice in a Post-Desegregation World: What have we learned and where are we going?" in Storrs, CT. November 2007.

"The Social Construction of Failing Schools and Its Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: A Spatial Analysis of Urban Education in New York City" (co-authored with Janelle T. Scott and Jacquelyn Duran) Paper presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association in Chicago, IL, April 2007.

"Applying the Principals of *Grutter* to K-12 Education: Racially Diverse Public Schooling and the Compelling State Interest." (co-authored with Jacquelyn Duran and Terrenda White). Paper presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association in Chicago, IL, April 2007.

Panelist responding to the Supreme Court's Oral Argument in the Louisville and Seattle Voluntary Integration cases. American Constitution Society for Law and Policy, Washington DC., December 4th, 2006.

"Our Children's Burden: A History of Federal Education Policies that Ask (now Require) Our Public Schools to Solve Societal Inequality." Paper Presented at the 2006 Campaign for Educational Equity's Annual Symposium, "NCLB and Its Alternatives: Examining America's Commitment to Closing Achievement Gaps." New York, NY: Teachers College, Columbia University.

"Double Consciousness From Both Sides Now: How Graduates of Desegregated Schools Understand Race" (co-authored with Jennifer Jellison Holme) Paper Presented at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association in Montreal, Canada, August, 2006.

"From Welfare Queens to Soft Bigotry: The Parallels between Welfare Reform and NCLB" Invited lecture at the Center for Research on Educational Opportunities. University of Notre Dame, April, 2006.

"A Spatial Understanding of the Schools Left Behind: Scapegoating Poor Urban Schools in an Era of Accountability and School Choice" (co-authored with Jennifer Jellison Holme, & Jacquelyn Duran) Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of American Educational Research Association. San Francisco, CA. April 12, 2006

Panelist on "Getting Your Opinion Out: Tips on Writing Op-Ed Articles." Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of American Educational Research Association. Montreal, Canada. April 12, 2005.

Panelist on "Keeping Track: 20 Years Later." Presidential Invited Session, Annual Meeting of American Educational Research Association. Montreal, Canada. April 12, 2005.

"Tackling Racial Segregation One Policy at a Time: Why School Desegregation Only Went So Far." Presentation at the Wagner School of Public Policy at New York University. New York, NY. February 17, 2005.

Panelist on "Charter Schools: Are They Working?" Sponsored by the Century Foundation. At the National Press Club, Washington, D.C. October 27, 2004.

"How School Desegregation Changed Us: The Effects of Racially Mixed Schools on Society." Presentation at the Fund for an Open Society Meeting. New Jersey. October 22, 2004.

"How Desegregation Changed Us." (with Anita Tijerina Revilla). Presentation at the "Brown Plus Fifty" conference at NYU. New York, NY: New York University's Metro Center. May 19, 2004.

"In Search of *Brown*." (with Anita Tijerina Revilla). The Teach In for high school students from around the country as part of the "Brown Plus Fifty" conference at NYU. New York, NY: New York University's Metro Center. May 17, 2004.

Panelist on National Public Radio's "Talk of the Nation," national broadcast on the 50th anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education* and what it means to high school students today. May 17, 2004.

Panelist on *Brown* Anniversary Program at the Schomburg Center for research in Black Culture. Co-sponsored by AARP and the Schomburg Center. New York City, NY. May 14, 2004.

"How Desegregation Changed Us" Study Presentation at the Education Writers Association meeting in San Francisco, April, 2004.

"Rethinking the Lessons Learned from School Desegregation: Understanding the Role of Racially Mixed Schools in a Segregated and Unequal Society" (First author with Jennifer Jellison Holme, Anita Tijerina Revilla, and Awo Korantemaa Atanda). Presentation at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting: San Diego, CA. April, 2004.

"The Souls of Desegregated Folk: The Dual-Consciousness of Adult Graduates of Racially Diverse High Schools" (First author with Jennifer Jellison Holme, and Anita Tijerina Revilla). Presentation at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting: San Diego, CA. April, 2004.

Panelist on the aftermath of *Brown*. Teachers College Homecoming. New York, NY: Teachers College, Columbia University. April, 2004.

"In Search of Brown: Findings from a Study of Desegregated High Schools and Their 1980 Graduates." Presentation at New York University Symposium, "The Black Middle Class: The Challenges Facing, and the Consequences of, African-American Class Mobility." New York, NY: New York University Law School. February 24, 2004.

"Against the Tide: Findings from a Study of Desegregated High Schools and Their 1980 Graduates." Presentation at the "*Brown v. Board of Education*: 50th Anniversary Symposium." Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Law School. February 20, 2004.

Panelist on the 50th Anniversary of *Brown*, The Hechinger Institute on Education and the Media. Meeting of Education Editors. New York, NY: Teachers College, Columbia University. November 2003.

"Learning The Shortcomings of Educational Policy in Hindsight: The Story of Six Desegregated High Schools in the Late 1970s. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management. Washington DC. November, 2003.

"Looking Back on Desegregation from Segregated Lives: A Study of Adult Graduates of Racially Mixed Schools." Paper Presented at the Harvard Civil Rights Project Color Lines Conference August 30-September 1, 2003

"In Search of *Brown*: The Unfulfilled Promise of School Desegregation in Six Racially Mixed High Schools." Paper Presented at the 2003 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association in Atlanta, GA. August, 2003.

"Beyond Cleveland: School Vouchers and the Future of American Education." Panelist at NYU Forum on the Cleveland Voucher Decision. New York, NY, September 17th, 2002.

"No Accountability for Diversity: Standardized Tests and the Demise of Racially Mixed Schools" (paper written with Jennifer Jellison Holme) Paper Presented at "The Resegregation of Southern Schools?" Conference Chapel Hill, NC, August 30, 2002

"Resisting Common Associations: The Sociology of Charter School Reform" Paper presented at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association. Chicago, IL. August 2002.

"In Search of Uncommon Schools: Understanding Race and Class in American Education." Invited lecture at Indiana University. April, 2002.

"School Desegregation Since Brown: A Research Context" Presentation at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting: New Orleans, LA. April, 2002.

"How Should Researchers Relate to the Media?" Panel member at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting: New Orleans, LA. April, 2002.

- "Methods and Emerging Themes from the UCLA Understanding Race and Education Study." Presentation at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the Association of Black Sociologists: Anaheim, CA. August, 2001
- "Resisting Association and Assimilation: Understanding Parents' School Choices in a Diverse Society." Presentation by the 2000 Winner of the AERA Early Career Award for Programmatic Research. American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting: Seattle, WA. April, 2001.
- "Lessons from Free Market Reforms of the 1990s: The Need to Bring Equity Back into Educational Policy Debates." The third of three Julius & Rosa Sachs Lectures. Teachers College, Columbia University. November, 2000.
- "Local versus Community Control in Education: Distinctions of Race, Class and Power" The second of three Julius & Rosa Sachs Lectures. Teachers College, Columbia University. October, 2000.
- "The Consequences of School Desegregation" Presentation at "The End of School Desegregation?" Conference. University of Colorado School of Law. Bolder, CO. October 2000.
- "In Search of Uncommon Schools: Charter School Reform in Historical Perspective." The first of three Julius & Rosa Sachs Lectures. Teachers College, Columbia University. October, 2000.
- "Charter Schools and Racial and Social Class Segregation: Yet Another Sorting Machine?" Presentation of book chapter co-authored with Jennifer Jellison Holme, Alejandra Lopez, and Camille Wilson Cooper. The Century Foundation Conference on A Notion at Risk: Preserving Education as an Engine for Social Mobility. Washington DC. September, 2000.
- "Where School Desegregation and School Choice Policies Collide: Voluntary Transfer Plans and Controlled Choice." (co-presented with Robert L. Crain). Paper presentation at the "School Choice and Racial Diversity Conference" Teachers College, Columbia University, May, 2000
- "When Local Control Meets the Free Market: School Choice Policy for the New Millennium." Invited address to the Sociology of Education SIG. Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. New Orleans, April, 2000.
- "What's Ahead: Vouchers and Charter Schools?" Panel Member. Seminar on Educational Issues for Political Reporters. The. Hechinger Institute on Education and the Media. Washington D.C. April, 2000.
- "The Story on Charter Schools?" Panel Member. Seminar on Education for Editorial Writers. The. Hechinger Institute on Education and the Media New York, NY. March, 2000.
- "Equity and Access... Does Choice Enhance the Educational Opportunities Available to Poor Children? Panel Member. National Conference on School Choice and Educational Change. Michigan State University. East Lansing, MI. March, 2000.
- "Where Community/Local Control Meets the Free Market: Charter Schools and the Search for the 'Uncommon' "The Russell Sage Foundation. New York, NY. February 9, 2000

"The Comprehensive High School, Detracking, and the Persistence of Social Stratification," Presented co-authored paper with Jeannie Oakes. The NYU Seminar on the Comprehensive High School. October 19, 1999.

"Charter Schools: Promises and Pitfalls" NYU School of Education. Policy Breakfast Series. New York, NY. October 20, 1999.

Teachers College Forum. Speaker on charter school reform. New York, NY. October 4, 1999.

"Charter Schools and the Myth of the Common School." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting in Chicago. August, 1999.

"Evaluation of Privatization and Charter Schools" (First author with Janelle Scott). Paper presented at the Agenda Setting Conference on the National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education. Teachers College, Columbia University. New York, NY. April, 1999.

"The Politics of Accountability: Charter Schools and Local Boards of Education." The Havens Center Visiting Scholars Program. University of Wisconsin-Madison. March, 1999.

"Charter School Reform in Historical and Political Perspective: Common Themes of 'Uncommon' Schools." The Havens Center Visiting Scholars Program. University of Wisconsin-Madison. March, 1999.

"Beyond the Rhetoric of Charter School Reform: A Study of Ten California School Districts." Presentation to the Ford Foundation Constituency Building for Public School Reform Initiative. New York, NY: November, 1998.

"School Choice: What do we know about charter schools and other options?" Panel member. PACE Education Media Seminar. Los Angeles, CA. October 5, 1998.

"The Impact of School Choice." Panel Member. Seminar on Making Sense of Conflicting Educational Claims. Hechinger Institute on Education and the Media. Teachers College, Columbia University. New York, NY. September, 1998.

"Beyond the Rhetoric of Charter School Reform: A Study of Ten California School Districts." Invited lecture on the UCLA Charter School Study. Michigan State University. East Lansing, MI. September, 1998.

"The Multiple Meanings of Charter School Reform: Understanding Decentralization from Community Standpoints." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting in San Francisco. August, 1998

"The Impact of Charter Schools" Panel Member. Seminar on Education for Editorial Writers. Hechinger Institute on Education and the Media. Teachers College, Columbia University. New York, NY. July, 1998.

UCLA Graduate School of Education & Information Studies Book Talk on Stepping Over the Color Line: African American Students in White Suburban Schools. May, 1998.

"The UCLA Charter School Study: A Brief Discussion of What We did and What We Learned." Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. San Diego, CA. April, 1998.

Session on Educational Researchers and the Press. Panel Member. American Educational Research Association annual meeting. San Diego, CA. April, 1998.

"Nerds vs. Simpletons" A Discussion of the Role of Educational Research and the Press. Panel Member. Annual meeting of the Education Writers Association. San Francisco, CA. April 1998.

"Charter Schools, School Districts and Teachers Unions: Partners in Reform?" Panel Member. Annual meeting of the American Association of School Administrators. San Diego, CA. February 1998.

"Charter Schools and Issues of Identity." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Studies Association. San Antonio, Texas. October, 1997.

"Shifting Boundaries Between Public and Private Education: The Privatness of Public Charter Schools" Paper Presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting in Toronto, Canada. August, 1997

"Two Debates on Results: What Do We know About Charter Schools?" Panel Member. National Forum and Annual Meeting of the Education Commission of the States. Providence, R.I., July 1997.

Testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Education and the Workforce. Hearing on Charter Schools. Panel Member. Washington D.C. April, 1997.

"The Long-term Effects of School Desegregation." Speaker. Conference on the Future of School Desegregation Sponsored by the Harvard University Civil Rights Project, the Harvard University Project on School Desegregation, and the Southern Education Foundation. Atlanta, GA. April, 1997.

"The Role of School Districts in Charter School Reform: Questioning the Underlying Assumptions of Neoliberal Ideology" (first author with Julie Slayton). Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting, Chicago. March, 1997.

"Charter Schools at Post-modern Institutions: Rethinking Social Stratification in an Age of Deregulated School Choice." (first author with Alejandra Lopez, Janelle Scott, and Jennifer Jellison.) Paper presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Sociology of Education Association. Monterey, CA. February, 1997.

"An Assessment of Charter Schools Across the United States." Panel Member and Commentator. Conference on Public Policy and School Reform in the United States and Texas. University of Houston. January, 1997.

"The Multiple Meanings of Charter School Reform." Speaker. Perspectives on Critical Issues: Educational Policy Conversations. Institute for Education and Social Policy. New York University. New York, NY. January, 1997.

U.S. Congressional Briefing on School Funding, Choice and Racial Segregation. Panel Member. Congressional Briefing sponsored by the American Sociological Association. Washington D.C. August, 1996.

- "A Comparative Analysis of Charter Schools in the US and Grant-Maintained Schools in England." Paper presented at the Midterm Conference of the Research Committee on Sociology of Education of the International Sociological Association. Los Angeles, CA, June 1996.
- "Underlying Policy Assumptions of Charter School Reform: The Multiple Meanings of a Movement." (first author with Cindy Grutzik and Sibyll Carnochan). Paper presented at the AERA annual meeting, New York, NY. April, 1996.
- "Choosing Tracks: How Students Structure Inequality" (second author with Susan Yonesawa and Irene Serna) Paper presented at the AERA annual meeting, New York, NY. April, 1996.
- Panelist at Forum on Desegregation titled, "Race and Poverty: Our Private Obsession, Our Public Sin. Reexamining racial integration and self-determination in poor communities." The Institute on Race and Poverty. University of Minnesota. Minneapolis, Minnesota. October, 1995.
- "Equity, Access and Decentralization: Reproducing Inequality Under Local Control" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association. Washington DC. August 1995.
- "Understanding the Meaning of Detracking in Racially-Mixed Schools: Overview of Study Methods and Conceptual Framework" (Second author with Jeannie Oakes) Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting 1995.
- "The Politics of Culture: Understanding Local Political Resistance to Detracking in Racially Mixed Schools" (First author with Irene Serna) Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting 1995.
- "Towards a Critique of Parent Involvement: Powerful Parents and the Return of Local Control" (First author with Cindy Kratzer and Dolores Bernal) Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting 1995.
- "What is School Choice, Where is it Taking Place, and With What Consequences?" Invited lecture at "Understanding Choice and Charter Schools" a Conference for Texas State Legislators and School Board Members. Austin, Texas. October, 1994.
- "Toward a Theory of Racial Change: Explaining the Successes and Failures of School Desegregation." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association. Los Angeles, CA. August, 1994.
- "A Comparison of U.S. Charter Schools and England's Grant-Maintained Schools: Lessons in Deregulation and Competition." Paper presented at the World Congress of Sociology in Germany. July 1994.
- "Revitalizing Public Education: The Relationship Between Resources and Learning." A Congressional Briefing. One of three American Sociological Association members invited to speak at the ASA sponsored Congressional Briefing. Washington DC: May. 1994
- "Re-examining the Evidence on School Desegregation and Student Outcomes: Long- versus Short-Term Effects" Paper Presented at New York University's "*Brown* Plus Forty: The Promise" Conference. New York, NY: April, 1994.

- "A Comparison of Magnet and Charter Schools: The Trade Off Between Desegregation and Deregulation." (First author with Diane Hirshberg and Amanda Datnow). Paper Presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. New Orleans: April, 1994.
- "The Importance of Understanding the Social and Political Context of Detracking Reform." (Second author with Diane Hirshberg). Paper Presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. New Orleans: April, 1994.
- "The Multiple Meanings of Parental Choice in Education: How the Structure of School Choice Policy Restricts or Empowers Parents" Paper Presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. New Orleans: April, 1994.
- "The Multiple Meanings of School Choice" Presentation at "The Choice on School Choice," the UCLA Public Forum on Proposition 174. Los Angeles, CA: October, 1993
- "Parents' Resistance To Racially Mixed Schools and Classrooms: Developing a Normative Theory of 'Rational' Action" Paper presented at the American Sociological Association annual meeting. Miami Beach, FL. August, 1993.
- "School Choice and Human Agency: How Students Structure Inequality." Paper presented at Harvard University's Seminar on Family Policy. June, 1993.
- "The Upwardly Mobile -- Black Students who Succeed in the Suburbs" Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. Atlanta, GA: April, 1993
- "The Sociology of School Choice: Why Some Win and Others Lose in the Educational Marketplace" (October, 1992) presented at the Economic Policy Institute conference "School Choice: What Role in American Education?" Washington D.C.
- "Perpetuation Theory and the Long-Term Effects of School Desegregation." (First author with Robert L. Crain). Presented at the American Sociological Association annual meeting. Pittsburgh, PA. August, 1992.
- "Public Funds for Private Schools: Political and First Amendment Considerations." (First author with Stuart Biegel) (July, 1992) Presented at the Urban Education Conference at Teachers College, Columbia University. New York.
- "Racial Group Conflict and School Desegregation Policy: A Neo-Weberian Perspective" (First author with Robert L. Crain) (July, 1992) Presented at the Urban Education Conference at Teachers College, Columbia University. New York.
- "When School Desegregation Fuels Educational Reform: Lessons from Suburban St. Louis." (First author with Robert L. Crain and Susan Uchitelle) Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. San Francisco, CA: April, 1992.
- "Rational Choice Theory Revisited: How Parents and Students Choose Schools." Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. Chicago, IL: April, 1991.

"A Synthesis of the Literature on Education Reporting" (Second author with Edward B. Fiske) Presented by Edward B. Fiske at a Colloquium on Educational Research and the Press, sponsored by the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. Charlottesville, VA. August, 1989.

"The Education of Homeless Children -- National Trends and the Work of One Urban District." Presented at the ERIC Clearinghouse Annual Workshops I and II, June and September, 1989.

"The Interdependence of Educational Research and the Press." Panel Discussion at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting. San Francisco. March, 1989.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Sociological Association

Sociology of Education Section, Member
Elected Member, Sociology of Education Council 1997-99
Chair of the Nominations Committee 1996-97
Chair of the Willard Waller Award Subcommittee, 1995-96

American Educational Research Association

Division G Member

Education Writers Association

Vice President, Board of Directors (1995-97)
Member, Board of Directors (1993-97)

Editorial Board Member:

American Educational Research Journal (1999-2003; 2008-2010)

International Journal of Educational Change (1998-2002)

Teachers College Record (1996-2001)

Sociology of Education (1996-1999)

Review of Educational Research (1996-1999)

Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis (1994-97)

Additional Professional Service:

Reviewer, Spencer Dissertation Fellowships, National Academy of Education, (2011-present)
Advisory Board Member, Columbia University's Education Journalism Fellowship Program (2007-present)
Member, NYU Metro Center's "With All Deliberate Speed" Commission (2005)
Member, Century Foundation's Task Force on Common Schools (2001-2003)
Co-chair, NYU Metro Center's Brown Plus 50: A Renewed Agenda for Social Justice Conference (2003-04).
Advisory Board Member, NYU's Charter School Study (1999-present)
Advisory Board Member, Johns Hopkins-UCSD Study of Single Gender Schools (1997-99)
Member, National Research Council, Task Force on School Finance (1996-99)